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ABSTRACT

This volume contains the 1969 working papers on subjects related to teaching English as a second language (TESL) and abstracts of Masters Theses completed by students studying TESL. Several articles discuss teaching and learning a second language and practical considerations in second language learning such as reading and writing skills, the use of poetry, the concept of style among elementary school children, and procedures and objectives for analyzing classes. One article concerns attitudes toward the teaching of a particular pronunciation of English, and another discusses the role of the Prague School in the development of foreign language teaching. One study provides a comparison of the relative control of English and Amharic by eleventh-grade Ethiopian students. (VM)

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WORKPAPERS
in
English as a Second Language

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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IN MEMORIAM

This third volume of the UCLA Workpapers in the teaching of English as a second language is dedicated to the memory of Tommy R. Anderson. The contrastive analysis of Cebuano and English that he presented as his doctoral dissertation earned him one of the first TESL-oriented Ph.D.'s conferred by the University. Most of his brief but brilliant career as a teacher was spent at the Philippine Normal College, in the service of his second home-land. He returned to the United States at the end of 1968 to join our staff. A place had been reserved in this volume for his contribution. His untimely death only three months later brings to an end the keen anticipation with which we had looked forward to having him as a colleague.

Preface

The Department of Teaching English as a Second Language at UCLA began publishing *Workpapers* in 1967. The original purpose was to offer a set of "working papers" on diverse topics related to the field in order to obtain feedback from as many people as possible. Our purpose remains the same. We want to thank those who commented on the 1968 *Workpapers* for their many apt criticisms; we hope readers of this third set will again assist us by sending comments on the articles.

We are fortunate this year to have papers from two of our visiting scholars, John Spencer of the University of Leeds, England and Vilém Fried, Charles University, Prague, Czechoslovakia. Drs. J. Donald Bowen and Earl Rand are currently on leave from UCLA working in Africa and India, respectively. We appreciate their extra effort in sending us their articles. Dr. Bradford Arthur is still dividing his loyalties between our department and the regular Department of English.

Carrying on in the now well-established *Workpapers* tradition, the 1969 set has no overall pattern or unity of content. The articles were submitted by nine professors with varying interests, experiences, and backgrounds. We still feel justified in maintaining this diversity and see it as essential to the nature and purpose of the publication. We remain united in our dedication to the improvement of methods of language acquisition.

In 1968 the department awarded its first two MATESL degrees. Our publication this year includes the abstracts from these two theses along with those of the six students receiving their masters degrees this June. We hope you will share our enthusiasm for the high degree of scholastic excellence demonstrated in their achievement.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the assistance of Maryruth Bracy, a new member of our ESL faculty, for editing this set of papers and seeing to their publication in this current format. Jackie Wittenberg typed the final copy from which this is photo offset.

The Staff

Additional copies of *Workpapers* may be obtained by writing to:

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ADDING A SECOND LANGUAGE

Clifford H. Prator

This paper attempts to identify the essential differences between the acquisition of one's first language and the subsequent acquisition of a second language. It assumes that many of the key concepts of TESOL can be drawn out of such a contrastive treatment.

1. *Acquiring the Mother Tongue*

A very significant difference between the acquisition of one's mother tongue (L1) and adding a second language (L2) is that the former is merely *learned* whereas the latter must usually be *taught*. Though the difference is not absolute, it still has enormous consequences.

There is a great deal of interest today in finding out exactly how a child does learn his L1, and a large amount of research is being carried out in an attempt to discover just how and when the various components of language mastery are developed. Though few incontrovertible facts are as yet available for the guidance of the language teacher, the various stages in which the learning process takes place are coming to be understood with increasing clarity.

The first phase is often labeled *the exploratory stage*. Just as the new-born child instinctively exercises his limbs in order to develop them, he also exercises his lungs, mouth, tongue, and lips to produce sounds. His early cries of anger, pain, fear, or hunger are soon supplemented by increasing amounts of babbling activity, apparently aimed at exploring the range of his own vocal possibilities. He often makes a wide variety of sounds which he can never have heard before and which he would find it very difficult to emit later as an adult: velar spirants, voiceless nasals, retroflex sibilants, or simultaneous labio-velar stops plus vowels.

The second phase of language learning has been called the *imitative stage*. There are signs that the infant is beginning to pay more attention to the speech sounds made by other people, and he may even become temporarily less vocal himself as he concentrates on listening to others. The sounds he produces become progressively more similar to those made by his elders, and he abandons many of his earlier sounds altogether. His parents find that, by giving him the benefit or every doubt, they can identify some of his sounds as the vowels and consonants of the mother tongue.

At first there are very few of these recognizable sounds, and each production of one of them may vary widely from other productions of what the infant and eventually his listeners come to think of as the same sound. Little by little successive productions of the same sound grow more standardized and the distinction between sounds is therefore clearer. What has happened so far can be explained in terms of B. F. Skinner's theory that a habit is formed by a shaping process involving successive approximations to a behavioral model. Perhaps the infant is motivated at this stage by his urge to imitate and the approval of his elders.

In his earliest efforts to speak, the child typically favors one vowel and one consonant, seeming to prefer to produce them with the consonant first and the vowel following it; his first syllable is often recognized by his delighted parents as /ma/, /da/, or /ga/. The child may then split his general, all-purpose consonant into a stop and a continuant, learning to distinguish between a sound something like /na/ and another a little like /da/. The general vowel may then split into a high vowel and a low vowel. The stop may split into a pair, one of whose members is voiced, the other voiceless. Somewhat as a primitive organism develops through the splitting of cells, the child's phonological system becomes more complicated as he learns to make use of the various features---such as voicing, aspiration, and nazalization---that are used in his mother tongue in various combinations to distinguish between sounds and between words.

He now has what can be thought of as a stock of words to which he can attach meanings. This is when he begins to produce one-word sentences and finds that they can effect more specific desirable results than can be effected by mere noise-making. "/ap/" may result in his being picked up and cuddled. He can obtain the box he wants to play with by articulating "/ba/". A good, clear "/dada/" will attract the attention of the male parent. More and more he relies on speech to fulfill his basic physical and emotional needs. His linguistic successes are immediately reinforced by tangible rewards.

Sometime during the child's second year he usually begins to enter the third phase of learning his mother tongue, the analogical stage. He has developed a small vocabulary of content words that symbolize people, things, actions, qualities, places, directions, etc. He now draws on his innate language ability to try to relate these ideas one to another.

Still without any awareness that he is learning a language, he explores the various possibilities of patterning among words. When does one make a certain group of words end with a certain sound as his elders do? What is the effect of making one word precede or follow another? Or of pronouncing one word on a higher pitch than another? What is the meaning of those obscure little words that people seem to insert between important words? In other terms, he becomes aware of the existence and potential significance of inflectional and derivational endings, word order, stress, intonation, and function words as opposed to content words.

In experimenting with patterns he produces word forms that he has never heard before and, eventually, completely new sentences that no one has ever before uttered. His listeners detect only a few of these---those that violate the accepted norms of the local adult speech community. Many children independently invent such forms as feets, childs, brung, catched, and more better. I shall never forget some of the analogical creations of my own children. Upon being somewhat violently admonished to behave, one of them answered in an aggrieved voice: "But Dad, I am being have." Another replied to a warning about diving into shallow water with a memorable: "Yeah, I know. Many a people have cracken their head on the bottom of the pool."

Seldom is the child corrected for such "mistakes." He gradually learns to avoid them because his listeners do not understand him, laugh at him, or simply never use those patterns themselves. In Skinnerian terms, the stimulus responses no longer occur because they are not positively reinforced.

Though sentences of this aberrant type, in which each departure from accepted norms can be justified by an impeccable analogy with acceptable patterns, do not persist long in the child's speech, the irrefutable fact that all normal children do produce such sentences may have great significance for the language teacher. It seems clear that a child does *not* learn to speak his mother tongue by imitation alone. Nor can such creations as "many a people have cracken their head" be satisfactorily explained as the result of a mechanical process of habit formation. The most convincing explanation of the child's ability to create new sentences appears to be that put forward by the current school of transformational grammarians: he acquires his competence by internalizing the rules that the grammar of his L1 prescribes for the generation of sentences. And he normally does this without ever knowingly formulating the rules himself or hearing them formulated.

When the child enters school, he begins the fourth and final phase of acquiring his mother tongue, the *stage of formal instruction*. Up to now he has merely been *learning* the language; it would be grossly inaccurate in most cases to say that he has been *taught* it. Now, for the first time, someone undertakes to teach it to him; but what remains to be taught? Charles C. Fries used to go so far as to say that nothing essential remains to be taught and that the child has already mastered his language before he goes to school.

Today we tend to regard such statements as considerable exaggerations, but there is certainly a large amount of truth in them. Fries was equating "language" with "speech." What he was really saying was that a pre-school child has already mastered the essentials of speaking his mother tongue: its phonological and grammatical systems. All that remains to be done in school is to enlarge his vocabulary and to teach him to read and write, to make him literate.

Many of us would not agree with his conviction that the spoken language *is* the language and that writing is merely an imperfect symbolization of speech. It seems more realistic and helpful for teachers to regard English speech and writing as two closely related but distinct linguistic systems each of which should be given equal priority in education for modern urban living.

Moreover, research such as that of Mildred Templin, Frederick Davis, and Jean Berko has shown that the average six-year-old is still far from having mastered many basic essentials of the spoken form of his L1. Phonemicization---the process described earlier in this paper whereby the child singles out certain sounds as the only distinctive sounds in his language---is far from complete at the age of six. Many children have still not learned to produce some of the rarer sounds in the mother tongue's phonological inventory. Many have not yet internalized some of the most basic rules of the grammar, such as that which in English governs the alternation among the three forms of the plural endings: /-s/, /-z/, and /-əz/.

Be that as it may, most pupils get very little intentional help from their teachers in their efforts to increase their command of the spoken language after they have entered school. In some well-developed school systems an organized attempt is made to augment the child's vocabulary through activities designed to lead him to form new concepts. But over most of the world teachers concentrate almost all their efforts during the first year or two of schooling on teaching their pupils to read and write. Henceforth, most vocabulary development takes place as a by-product of reading.

2. Teaching a Second Language

From time to time theoreticians have championed a so-called "natural method" of second-language teaching. The basic tenet of the method is that children should, in so far as possible, be allowed to learn their L2 in exactly the same way they learned their L1. This implies that there is no need for the teacher to concern himself with drills, or correctness, or organizing his subject matter. All he needs to do is to create situations in which the child will feel a sufficiently strong need to use the L2. He can then content himself with encouraging the child to persevere through a prolonged period of trial-and-error activity, and the language will eventually be learned. The method would seem to be about as sensible as trying to train a telegraph operator by giving him exciting news to transmit and then leaving him to work out the Morse Code for himself without benefit of systematic instruction.

There is actually no way whereby the circumstances under which a child learned his mother tongue can ever be reduplicated for the learning of a second language. The rest of this paper will be devoted to a consideration of the basic differences between acquiring an L1 and adding an L2. These differences will be classified under ten headings:

1. Time available
2. Responsibility of the teacher
3. Structured content
4. Formalized activities
5. Motivation
6. Experience of life
7. Sequencing of skills
8. Analogy and generalization
9. Danger of anomie
10. Linguistic interference

One of the most self-evident differences is the much more limited amount of time available for acquiring the second language. The child normally has at his disposal almost all the waking hours of whatever number of years he needs to master his mother tongue. During that time he can experiment with new sounds, try out novel structural patterns at his leisure. He constantly hears authentic models of the type of speech he needs to learn and can usually afford to listen or not as he pleases. If he doesn't understand a word the first time he hears it and it is really something he needs to know, he can be sure that he will have many further opportunities to grasp its meaning.

But, unless his circumstances are quite exceptional, he must learn his second language largely at school, within the brief hours set aside in the schedule for teaching it. The total amount of time available varies considerably from school system to school system. If he wishes to be a polyglot, the Filipino child is lucky. He will begin to study English at least one period per day in the first grade, and from the third grade on he may receive all of his instruction in English. He will probably hear it spoken and sometimes may even have an opportunity to speak it outside of class. On the other hand, the cards are stacked against the average American who wants to learn French. He will be fortunate if his school offers two full years of instruction in the language and if his teacher allows him actually to try to speak French for a few hours of that time. He may never, alas, have an opportunity to use his L2 for any practical purpose in school or out. Even the Filipino, however, has to learn his second language in a small fraction of the time he had at his disposal for learning his first.

The shorter the time available for instruction, the greater the responsibility of the teacher to see to it that full advantage is taken of every precious minute. The necessity for careful planning and timing is still further increased by the fact that, whereas the L1 teacher is responsible for only a tiny portion of his pupils' language experience, the L2 teacher is responsible for almost all of it. In the second-language classroom there is both much more to be taught and much less time in which to teach it. The teacher of the mother tongue can afford to devote a great deal of attention at an early stage to the mechanics of writing and at a later stage to the niceties of usage, but his second-language counterpart must first deal with much more basic elements of language. One of the chief concerns of the former is to build up his pupils' vocabulary; the latter can allow himself to introduce only a small, carefully selected stock of the most useful new words.

Because of the pressure of time, the L2 teacher can afford to use only the most economical and effective instructional techniques. There may be differences of opinion as to what these are, but I think almost no one would argue, with regard to the most elementary stages of teaching a second language, that it is either economical or efficient to allow pupils to flounder through long periods of trial-and-error activity. Such activity inevitably leads to the formation of incorrect speech habits, which then have to be unlearned. And few processes can be more time consuming than unlearning well-established habits.

One of the principal responsibilities, then, of the L2 teacher is to see to it that his pupils use correct language as often as possible. This does not mean that he must constantly correct them for the slightest error. That is seldom either feasible or desirable. Too many corrections by the teacher can render activities meaningless and reduce sensitive children to stubborn silence. What it does mean is that the teacher finds as many ways as he can to prevent the occurrence of errors. In other words, he begins by supplying the best possible model for imitation; he controls the language to be used. Then, little by little, when he is convinced that his pupils have mastered the material at hand, he relaxes his control to the extent that the absence of errors permits relaxation. The whole process, repeated each time new language material is to be taught, can be thought of as a gradual progression from the manipulation of language to communication through language.

Another consequence of the pressure of time is that the linguistic content of an L2 course, and even the content of each class of such a course, needs to be carefully structured. In an elementary L1 class, where attention is focused on developing the skills of reading and writing, there is room for a very large amount of spontaneity and improvisation. Structural controls are not essential in the reading selections, provided that the sentences are not too long and complicated. But the L2 teacher must be aware at all times of just what elements of the language he is teaching. There is a clearly determined inventory of sounds and combinations of sounds that his pupils must master. He cannot afford to omit or slight any of them, and he should observe an ordered sequence in introducing them.

Completeness and sequencing are perhaps even more important in his major task, which is that of making certain that his pupils have an adequate opportunity to master the basic structures and sentence patterns that the grammar of the language permits. The pupils must then be given a chance to internalize the various formulas whereby the basic patterns are expanded, shortened, transformed, and embedded in other patterns to generate more complex sentences. All this requires practice and more practice. If a basic structure is overlooked somewhere early in the sequence, there can be no assurance that it will sooner or later reappear as a matter of chance sufficiently often to be learned. This is not to say that there is no room at all in the second-language class for spontaneity and improvisation. Without improvisation there is probably no true communication. It does seem to mean, however, that even spontaneity must be timed and rationed.

The rate at which a child acquires a second language probably depends above all else on the amount of time he spends in actually using the language. Whereas the L1 teacher can encourage pupils to speak one at a time and even allow them the option of remaining silent if they feel so inclined, the L2 teacher is forced to rely much more heavily on formalized activities in which participation is obligatory. He must have at his command an extensive repertory of drill techniques. These should range from purely manipulative drills in which all the child has to do is to imitate a model, through predominantly manipulative drills that require the child to supply certain linguistic elements within a framework provided by the model, through predominantly communicative activities over whose linguistic content the teacher still retains some slight degree of control, to purely communicative activities such as free conversation and the writing of original compositions. Many L2 teachers feel that choral drills, in which groups of pupils or all the members of the class participate simultaneously, are an essential part of the repertory because they effectively multiply the amount of time each child spends in actually using the language.

Since formalized activities tend to be boring if they are continued for too long, the L2 teacher must learn to move from one activity to another in a rhythm that provides sufficient drill for mastery but that also moves fast enough to give the pupils a sense of achievement. As Earl Stevick has pointed out, this probably involves skill in recognizing technemes; Stevick defines a techneme as a classroom technique that pupils will react to as being different from a previously used technique.

Most of the remaining basic differences between acquiring an L1 and adding an L2 arise not so much from the fact that a more limited amount of time is available for the L2 but that the child usually begins to learn his second language at a more mature stage in his general development. Perhaps the most far-reaching in its effects of these differences is the difference in motivation. Recent research has been rather inconclusive as to the importance of some of our cherished methodological dogmas, such as our preference for presenting grammar inductively rather than deductively and our earlier insistence that structural patterns be drilled to the point of over-learning. On the other hand, all the pertinent research that I am aware of, particularly that of Wallace Lambert and his colleagues at McGill University in Montreal, has clearly demonstrated the central importance of motivation.

The child learns a great deal of his mother tongue without awareness that he is learning. His most basic drives---hunger, fear, the need for affection---urge him to communicate. His very existence depends on his ability to make his needs known in some way to those upon whom he is utterly dependent. It is hard to imagine how stronger motivation could exist. As he grows older his degree of independence of course increases, and he is certainly aware in school that he is being taught how to read and write. Even so, his motivation usually remains fairly high: it is not hard to comprehend the value of becoming literate, and many children really do discover that reading is fun.

But how inferior is the natural motivation for learning a second language! Instead of being a tool for the satisfaction of immediate needs, it may seem more like a questionable superfluity. It may be associated with unsympathetic foreigners or an objectionable social group rather than with the learner's family, peers, and favorite people.

Obviously, the L2 teacher must bend every effort toward supplying at least a portion of the natural motivation that is lacking. He must try to show that native speakers of the language are an interesting and even an admirable lot who have said and written many things that can enrich anybody's life. He may be able to convince his pupils that mastery of the language will open doors to professional advancement that would otherwise remain closed. Above all he will need to make sure that his pupils often experience that simplest and most solid of the satisfactions that accompany the successful learning of an L2, the pleasure of being able actually to communicate thought in a language other than one's own. He certainly cannot allow them to conclude, basing their judgment on what goes on in the classroom, that most of what is said in the second language is empty verbiage unrelated to reality. Even manipulative drill can be made meaningful.

A second consequence of increased maturity is a wider experience of life. The L2 teacher has less need than does the L1 teacher to provide his pupils with new, non-linguistic experiences. A child normally brings to learning his second language a larger stock of more sophisticated concepts than he brought to acquiring his first. This is one reason why readers in English, for example, that have been written for American children are not usually suitable for, say, Filipino children. Such texts tend to be too difficult linguistically and too simple conceptually. Unless this difference is kept in mind, L2 drills prepared for adolescents and adults may turn out because of the simple-minded language in which they are written to be an insult to the intelligence of the learners.

Almost inevitably the native speaker of a widely written language learns the skills involved in mastering his mother tongue in a certain fixed order: first hearing, then speaking, then reading, then writing. Is this sequencing of skills equally inevitable in the teaching of a second language? There is a great deal of evidence that it is certainly not inevitable and, indeed, that it may sometimes not even be desirable. Every year thousands of graduate students in American universities learn to read French or German, because they must do so to fulfill advanced degree requirements, without ever having spoken either language. It may be argued that they do not really read but merely decipher with the aid of a dictionary. I am not sure that this is anything more than a verbal quibble. It cannot be denied that they do manage to get meaning from the printed page. And if that is all they need to do with their French or German, then it hardly seems justifiable to criticize the method on the grounds that that is not the way in which children learn their mother tongue.

Perhaps it is wise to maintain, except in cases of special need like that of the graduate students cited above, that the pupils in an L2 class should generally speak only what they have first heard and understood well, should read only what they have spoken, and should attempt to write only what they have read. This seems to be a particularly wise policy in a school system like that of Kenya or the United States, in which English is almost universally the medium of instruction at all levels. In the lower grades of such schools teachers---and parents---tend to measure achievement in terms of reading alone, and the pressures to begin reading early may therefore become nearly irresistible. If, however, the children are required to read large amounts of material with which they have not earlier familiarized themselves in oral form, they have no other recourse than to parrot, to mouth words without understanding their meaning. In time parroting may become a fixed habit, a besetting sin that imperils the mental development of the child. Anyone who has worked in the schools of Kenya or who has studied the problems of Spanish-speaking children in American schools will recognize the reality of the danger.

There is a great and, it seems to me, insufficiently recognized difference between sequencing skills in terms of the linguistic material contained in one lesson or unit of lessons, as described at the beginning of the preceding paragraph, and sequencing them in terms of the total skills. Some methodologists, basing their judgment on the analogy with first-language learning, have gone so far as to say that the L2 teacher should not ask his pupils to begin to speak until they have learned to hear the differences between all the sounds that the language distinguishes, that pupils should not be allowed to read before they have mastered all the essentials of the spoken language, etc. Such a doctrine seems to ignore the well-established fact that, as children mature, they tend rapidly to become more visually-minded. That is to say, they find it increasingly difficult to learn and remember a word without having seen it in writing. There is evidence that prolonged postponement, over a period of months or even years, of all contact with the written form of the language in an L2 class may be definitely counter-productive. Therein may lie another basic difference between acquiring an L1 and adding an L2.

As his maturity increases, a child also becomes more capable of learning through analogy and generalization. We have noted that in his linguistic development he begins to make good use of these processes as early as his second year. It seems reasonable to assume that they can be even more useful in teaching him his second language than they were

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to him in learning his mother tongue. We are not yet sure whether it is better actually to formulate the rules that govern the generation of sentences in the L2 or merely to lead the child to internalize them without overt formulation. There are also differences of opinion as to whether the formulation should be done by the pupils or by the teacher. But rules can obviously provide a short-cut to learning. This belief is in harmony with the modern view of language as rule-governed behavior rather than as the result of a mechanical process of habit formation. Provided that the rules are phrased in the simplest and most non-technical language possible and that learning them is never confused with being governed by them, it is difficult to see how formulating them could be other than helpful.

By acquiring his L1 a child relates himself more closely to his own speech community and culture. When he learns an L2, he is in *danger of anomie*, or alienation from his own culture. How can the danger be avoided or at least minimized, especially in a situation in which the L2 is begun early and eventually becomes the medium of instruction? This is one of the most significant problems of second-language teaching. Unless it can be solved, English may in time lose much of the favor it now enjoys in many of the world's newly independent countries. The spokesmen for ethnic minority groups within the United States are becoming increasingly insistent that it be solved in American schools. The search for a solution is made more difficult by the teachers' conviction, already alluded to in this paper, that a language cannot be well-taught apart from the culture of which it is an expression and that adequate motivation for learning an L2 is impossible unless the pupils are favorably disposed toward those who speak the language natively. Part of the solution may lie in dividing instruction into two phases, in africanizing or hispanizing the subject matter dealt with during the first phase, and in postponing any attempt to explain British or traditional American culture until the second phase. Until a more complete solution is worked out, second-language teaching will continue to be characterized and bedeviled by the need for serving two apparently contradictory sets of goals.

I have saved until last the difference that is perhaps of most interest to linguists, the difference that arises from the *linguistic interference* which affects every element of teaching a second language. Whereas the child acquires his L1 without prejudice or predisposition toward certain forms of language, when he comes to add his L2 he must do so against the ingrained and often misleading influence of his mother tongue. This point is included here only for the sake of completeness. Its importance is so obvious and it has so frequently been discussed at length that it hardly seems necessary to consider it further in this paper.

OUTLINE OF

STRATEGIES FOR TEACHING A SECOND LANGUAGE

Robert D. Wilson

I. Introduction

A. Strategies are the general plans by which the general objective of learning a second language is accomplished. Every statement in this component is essential to achieving the objective.

B. There are four general strategies (probably incomplete): Resources, Objectives, Presentation, and Systematization.

1. Resources, by which the students' capabilities are applied.

2. Objectives, by which each teaching-learning situation is defined and evaluated.

3. Presentation, by which each teaching-learning situation is taken through three stages of increasing mastery.

4. Systematization (Bruner's structure), by which the system of the second language is revealed and "respected" (i.e., the rules of the system and the independence of the system are recognized).

II. Resources

A. Intellectual: induction followed by deduction

1. Induction

a. Provide enough structured examples (similar, contrasted, and related) for the students to be able to:

(i) Implicitly (generally) discover the rule (s) set by the objective (s) or

(ii) Recognize the rule as the rule set by the objective (s) if you should decide to provide the rule as well.

b. The choice whether to provide the rule or not is a matter of tactics - in the absence of definite assumptions about different students' capacities for abstraction at different stages of maturation.

c. Observe that the rule, if provided, is not to be presented without examples.

2. Deduction.

   a. Work out activities which will provide enough rule-governed linguistic behavior in order to make the students acquainted (for the Reveal stage) or familiar (for the Renew stage) with the rule (s) set by the objective (s).

   b. Some of the activities should involve a convention of communication, e.g., dialog.

   c. Some of the activities should require the students to manipulate, others to communicate.

      (i) Manipulation, where the student contributes no words of his own, e.g.,

      Teacher: She's leaving right away.
      Student: Is she leaving right away?

      (ii) Communication, where the student contributes some words of his own, e.g.,

      Teacher: Who's leaving?
      Student: Joe.

      (iii) Observe that both manipulative and communicative activities are required for pronunciation objectives, e.g.,

      Teacher: Say ship.
      Student: Ship
      Teacher: Do you have a ship?
      Student: No, I don't. I have a sheep.

B. Psychological: motivation and skills.

1. Provide motivation by:

   a. Reacting to the student's message as a message, and not simply as something to be corrected;

   b. Creating stress situations in which success is more likely than failure;

   c. Approving of the student's success.

2. Work out activities which require performance of the following skills:

   a. Motor skills (physical), e.g., use of the tongue in new ways for pronunciation;

b. Manipulative skills (mental), e.g., changing a statement to a question;

c. Composition skills (creative), e.g., relating (i.e., putting together) sentences in a convention of communication.

C. Linguistic: assimilative and creative processes.

1. Provide for the assimilation of structured examples through listening and/or repeating (or through reading and/or copying, the choice is a question of objectives).

   a. In syntax, the examples are sample sentences.

   b. In phonology, the examples are couched in sentences.

2. Provide for the creation of new sentences through substitution, expansion, deletion, and ordering.

   a. Substitution is the means by which new sentences similar to the sample sentences are created;

   b. Expansion is the means by which new sentences longer than the sample sentences are created;

   c. Deletion is the means by which new sentences shorter than the sample sentences are created;

   d. Ordering is the means by which permutations and combinations of the sample sentences are created.

III. Objectives

A. Content: the objectives should reflect the three components of language.

1. For the general objective of learning a second language, the primary objective is syntax, the secondary one is semantics, and the third is phonology - but all are essential.

2. For the particular objective (s) of a specific lesson, one or another of the three types of objectives might be emphasized depending on the application of the strategy of sequencing (see below).

   a. Whatever the main objective of a particular lesson, the teacher will attempt to elicit at all times sentences which are syntactically well-formed, semantically acceptable, and phonologically correct.

b. When the main objective of a particular lesson is from one component, e.g., phonology, the rules from the other components, should be rules familiar to the students; otherwise, unfamiliar rules should not enter into the evaluation (see below).

B. Form: the objectives should be put in behavioral terms.

1. Syntactic rules should be expressed in actual sentences.

2. Semantic interpretations of the sentences expressing the syntactic rules should be expressed in some convention of communication, e.g., dialog, narrative, descriptions, etc.

3. Phonological rules:

a. For segments (e.g., the sounds b , d , and e) should be expressed in terms of meaning-bearing examples that occur in sentences;

b. For rhythm (phrasing, stress, intonation) should be expressed in terms of the current syntactic objective, e.g., rising intonation of the actual yes-no questions being taught, or of previously learned syntactic objectives.

C. Evaluation: the linguistic objectives are evaluated in terms of three stages of increasing mastery:

1. Accuracy, in which the rules are applied correctly;

2. Quickness, in which the rules are applied correctly and as soon as possible after the cue - in a drill, a convention of communication, a situation, etc.

3. Fluency, in which the rules are applied correctly, quickly, and in relation to other rules learned previously - in a drill, a convention of communication, a situation, etc.

4. Each and every lesson should evaluate its objectives preferably in terms of all these three stages of increasing mastery, or at least in terms of the first two, accuracy and quickness.

5. In these tests, mistakes by the students should not be corrected immediately after a mistake is made. A summary correction of the mistakes at the end of the test is useful, indeed, necessary if the test has been failed. Distinguish this from immediate correction of mistakes in the Presentation (cf. IV A2).

IV. Presentation

A. Essential characteristics.

1. Whatever tactic is used, it should focus the student's attention:
    a. On the rule (s) in the inductive stage of the teaching-learning situation;
    b. On the use of the rule (s) in the deductive stage of the teaching-learning situation.
    c. Observe that the inductive and deductive stages of a teaching-learning situation are both always present in each of the three stages of increasing mastery discussed below.
2. Mistakes by the students, particularly those that violate the current lesson's objectives, should be corrected immediately.
3. All the activities should correlate language with behavior; put differently, meaning is part and parcel of every activity.
4. Teacher's attitudes.
    a. A sense of wonderment towards learning.
    b. Humility - put differently, avoid pride.
    c. Cheerfulness - put differently, avoid anger.
        (i) Forms of anger: shouting at, whispering through clenched teeth, lips tight, body rigid and tense, cold silence, etc.
        (ii) Anger is to make abusive use of authority. It is unfair to the students. Note that except in the most extreme and rare of cases, no student ever intentionally offends his teacher.
        (iii) Anger should not be confused with firmness. A teacher must be firm if he is to remain in charge of the situation at all times.

    All three attitudes are important as examples to your students: they predispose the students to learn.

B. Three stages of increasing mastery.

1. Reveal, in which the teacher chooses tactics that will clearly and efficiently show the students what the rules set by the objectives are.

    a. Induction: the students discover the rules (or are given the rules as explanations of the examples).

    b. Deduction: the students use the rules correctly, hesitatingly, slowly, and guessing perhaps, but correctly. If they have guessed, and you have confirmed or rejected their response with a correction, then they will know. (This is not the Accuracy test.)

2. Renew, in which the teacher chooses tactics that will provide the students with the opportunity of becoming familiar with the rules.

    a. Induction: the students discover (learn by demonstration) both (i) the procedures (e.g., drill, game, etc.) by which they will become familiar with the rules set by the objectives and (ii) the association between the procedures and the rules. The procedures serve both as a device for becoming familiar with the rules as well as a means of freeing the rules from being necessarily associated with the procedures, i.e., that the contexts provided by the procedures are not the only contexts for the rules, that the use of the rules is transferrable.

    b. Deduction: the students use the rules of synthesis correctly and quickly, looking for the relevant cues in contexts which gradually increase in complexity, e.g., drills, games, creative drama, etc. (This is not the Quickness test.)

    c. Familiarity with rules is not to be equated with practice for habit formation. The notion of habit formation, based as it is on theories of condition and response of nonmental objects, cannot account for creative (mental) use of language. For example, in what way can the preceding sentence of mine be traced back to words and sentences I have used during my lifetime by a chain of condition-response links? Indeed, consider only the memory load.

    d. The use of condition and response techniques for changing behavior is valuable for teaching familiarity with rules. In other words, the techniques can be effectively applied to mental objects such as rules; but mental objects such as rules must be assumed.

3. Relate, in which the teacher chooses tactics that will Reveal and Renew for the students the rules being presently learned as rules structurally related to rules learned in previous lessons. This stage may be in the same lesson or in a separate lesson. (See Systematization below.)

V. Systematization

A. Sequencing: the objectives are ordered in the light of the following considerations:

1. From the simple to the complex in terms of the system of the second language.

2. Structural review (see below) follows a sequence of objectives which may linguistically be called a family of rules.

a. The size of a family of rules will vary depending on the level of abstraction used (and also on the linguist!)

b. In the early part of the sequence, the sizes should be small.

3. Strategy 1 is violated to meeting the requirements of conventions of communication e.g., teaching the question form (s) even before all the various sentence patterns have been taught - for the sake of using dialog in the lessons.

4. Where two different sets of rules (e.g., the sets of rules of two sentence patterns) are equally complex, information from contrastive analysis about predicted errors would determine the sequence of the two sets: the more difficult set first in order to allow for cumulative review

5. From receptive to productive:

a. Listening before listening and speaking;

b. Reading before reading and writing.

B. Review: structural and contextual.

1. Structural, in which rules previously learned in separate lessons are now taught together and their relationships (in effect, new rules) taught as new objectives.

a. For example:

In lesson 17: Who wrote the letter: John did.
Objective: subject function.

In lesson 23: What did she write? A letter.
Objective: Direct Object function.

In Review 24: What fell? (vs. Who fell?) A vase
Who did Jane call? Peter
(vs. What did Jane call?)

Objectives: (a) What as well as who as Subject.
(b) Who as well as what as Direct Object.

b. Structural review is part of every lesson (ideally, anyway): it is the Relate stage (see above).

c. Lessons which introduce new rules are called invent lessons (the students invent the rules from the examples provided). These may be lessons which include only structural review, in which case they are called integrate lessons (the students integrate rules previously learned separately); these lessons have two stages of mastery: Reveal and Renew.

2. Contextual, in which the rules just learned are made to apply in contexts which vary in complexity, e.g., drills, games, creative drama, etc.

a. The contexts should be situations which are conducive to transfer: the use of the new language in natural situations (natural to the children, which may include fancy).

b. Contextual review is part of every lesson: it follows drill (if any) in the Renew stage (see above).

c. Contextual review may also be a separate lesson - called an Include lesson (the students include more patterns in their repertoire). Reveal and Renew in the usual sense are not part of this lesson.

C. Bilingualism: two independent systems of rules in one mind, i.e., coordinate bilingualism.

1. Pedagogical objective: the switching rule.

2. Conditioning the switching rule:

    a. Overt clues, e.g., creating cultural islands for the students, two different sets of phonological rules for pronouncing a proper name.

    b. Overt clues become more subtle, e.g., from *a.* above to facial features of native speaker of second (or first) language.

3. Realistically, the educational objective is coordinate trilingualism: the target language, the students' native language, and the students' "Learning" version of the target language as they attempt to use it before they master it. So, the pedagogical objective is a three-way switching rule.

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THREE PATHS TO LITERACY

Lois McIntosh

In many public schools in large cities, the first grade teacher has become increasingly aware that she must revise her assumptions about the language development of her charges. For she has probably discovered early in the school year that her pupils can be put into one of three groups as far as their readiness for learning to read and write is concerned.

The child in the first group comes from the "anglo" community, and he has presumably spoken standard American English during his short life. Belonging to that comfortable category "middle class", he has had interesting experiences, he has developed useful concepts, and he is equipped to take on the problems of school.

However, studies of language development in children with this background are beginning to suggest that they too have more language to acquire if they are to read with understanding and efficiency. Progressing through pre-primers and primers, they will encounter certain kinds of sentences not yet in their oral repertory. For these recent studies have focused on the syntax rather than on the vocabulary load of the readers, and some of the sentences are found to be too complex for our standard English speakers who are beginning to read.

A study by Evelyn Hatch ("Four Experimental Studies in Syntax of Young Children" Technical Report, SWRL, March 1969) offers interesting evidence of this. She studied the performance of two age groups... pre-reading kindergartners and seven-year-old pupils in second grade, with a year of reading behind them. This summary of her findings should interest a teacher of such children:

> The pre-readers had not mastered the cues for distinguishing between mass and count nouns (much-many); they had not standardized the case forms of pronouns (me hit she); and they were not successful in comprehending and repeating sentences with time connectives (before, after) where temporal order and frequency of the connective were significant.
>
> In these three tests the seven-year-olds who had already begun to read tested better, but they too were not in complete control.
>
> The final test called for comprehension and repetition of conditional clauses: If...then, If not...then, Unless...then not. The kindergartners had great difficulty with these. Second graders showed control of the if...then sentence, but they did less well on if not... then and unless...then not, and both groups uniformly misinterpreted unless...then.

While these four syntactic features do not begin to cover all the parts of the language, they do suggest that the pre-reader needs help with more than vocabulary, word attack, and phonics as he prepares to read. And this is the learner who starts with the advantage of control of the sounds and some of the sentences of standard American English.

The child from the second group speaks a dialect of English that differs from school language in phonology, morphology, and syntax to an extent that makes communication with standard speakers rather difficult. The child's dialect is based on English, but in certain crucial areas it is different. However, we must not assume from this, as some have done, that this child has no language, that he is deficient in certain essential concepts. Such an assumption is dangerous and unjust, for it puts the child in a category of "disadvantaged to the point of mental deficiency." This child has a complete language system, and as far as his experience has taken him, he has concepts expressed in a dialect that does not correspond completely to the language of school.

In a class with speakers of standard English, this child needs to close some gaps before he can compete on equal terms. If he can come to first grade with some basic sentences in standard English, he can join his friends from group one in activities and language games that will help both to learn to read and write school language.

The third child has spoken a different language for six years--Spanish, Japanese, Navaho--and he must acquire a completely new language--the phonology, morphology, and syntax--if he is to be educated in the language of our schools, in a second language for him. He starts farther back than the other two because the sounds and sentences will be new to him. He will need more time and opportunity to acquire the basic sentences in standard English before he can join his friends in the other two groups.

If the second and third child are fortunate, they will have had some time in Head Start, pre-kindergarten, or kindergarten before entering first grade. If the programs in these preliminary experiences were carefully constructed to include language development, the children would more nearly match the first child in language. But if they had no such early start, or if the programs did not include carefully planned language lessons, their first grade experience will present almost insurmountable difficulties.

Much time is wasted in some early childhood programs because well meaning people are not ready to accept the evidence that children can and do benefit from disciplined, constructive activity. Nor do they recognize the need for carefully sequenced and programmed language work. In a chapter on the national effort to help the "disadvantaged" through Head Start, Maya Pines points out: "Head Start became a pawn in the struggle between the old guard specialists in early childhood education, who emphasized free play as the prime method of promoting the child's emotional and social development and the newer advocates of cognitive learning. The old guard won hands down."[1]

Informal observation of certain programs among Indian children in pueblos in New Mexico bears out the truth of this statement. Happy play with trucks and finger paint may help social development, but language is needed too.

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[1] Pines, Maya: Revolution in Learning, The Years from Birth to Six, New York, Harper and Row, c. 1966 and 1967.

That organized language work is possible and desirable with younger children has been demonstrated in many programs where concerned teachers and psychologists have had some influence. Such programs have been well-publicized. One modest attempt was reported in a Master's study for the University of New Mexico.[2] Mary Keir worked with an experimental class of fourteen children aged four to six. The youngest spoke only Spanish, the others using a mixture of English and Spanish. The children, in two groups, had fifteen minutes of language help and fifteen minutes of number concepts daily for eight weeks. As the title of her study suggests, Mrs. Keir based her language sequence on the Illinois program of Bereiter and Engelmann. That is, she deliberately planned the sentences to include the language of concepts, listed as essential in the Illinois program. (There are many controversial points to be made about Bereiter-Engelmann procedures, but their list of minimal concepts is a useful one to bear in mind when sequencing language presentations.)

With a total of 240 minutes of language study in eight weeks, the children re-tested with the ITPA Language and Audio-Vocal Association Tests (Illinois), showed gains on both of months of language development. This gain surprised the teacher as she was able to cover only half of her program in that limited time. She credits some of the achievement to the novelty for the children of having attention focused on their language, to the combined efforts of both teachers, and to the visits of a gifted teacher of dance who also reinforced ideas and concepts. The point can still be made that in a pre-school program that deliberately emphasizes and includes language development, young children can grow stronger in their control of the essentials for success in school.

The child from the third group, the bilingual learner, has had some help from linguists and language teachers. We have sometimes helped him in a separate classroom with special lessons. We have sequenced the sentences of English, and provided him with opportunities to hear, imitate, and use these sentences. Have we at the same time made sure that what he has learned to say after us expresses concepts in the new language?

Many beginning lessons in English as a second language are centered around sentences with BE. If we sequence our lessons on the basis of linguistic considerations, and on evidence from contrastive descriptions of BE equivalents in other languages, we realize that this is a very complex structure to start off with. The first language may have no equivalent for it, or it may have two (*ser*, *estar*, for example). In either situation the learner has many tasks to meet in gaining control of sentences with forms of BE. But complex or not, this structure is the vehicle for many concepts, and mastery of it will put our learners from groups two and three on the way to success in school.

It is the sentence of identification: *This is a book. These are books. These aren't books.* It is the sentence of polar statements--of qualities that have opposites: *This box is big. This box is not little.* It is the sentence in which locatives are introduced: *It's in, on, under, over, by...*

Our language drills should include opportunities for the learner to be aware that he is naming concepts in this new language. If he is just repeating after a model, this will not happen. Language must help him begin to make decisions and logical deductions if he is to be educated at all.

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[2] Keir, Mary: "Experiment in Teaching English as a Second Language in Pre-School, Using Bereiter-Engelmann Techniques", 1968.

Our learners will learn to distinguish singular and plural forms and to apply these to identifying and categorizing. He should be able to say what things are and what they are not. He should be able to group likes and not alikes in categories: These are books. Those are chairs. We're boys. They're girls. A cat is an animal. can follow the direct sentences of categories.

The small word OR will appear in the teacher's questions: Is it red or blue? but have we expected the learner to use it and in doing so to make conscious choices? He can choose...cookies or crackers; milk or juice; red crayons or blue crayons, and even locations---books on the desk or on the floor. The meaning of OR can be brought home to him through our conscious awareness of opportunities for using the term.

He will learn to count in English, and he can learn that 5 is before 6 when they are lined up on the blackboard; that 7 is after 6. He can hear and use before and after in the class program: before nutrition; after the story hour until the terms are familiar and easy for him. If in his second language lessons he can progress to asking WHY and answering with reasons beginning BECAUSE, he is moving into the area of more complex language.

With this much language background the second language learner, and the non-standard dialect speaker may approach the level of their friends in group one. They share a common problem then, which will make the lot of the first grade teacher somewhat easier. For all three need oral practice in certain matters of syntax before they can be expected to read effectively. If this practice comes in the form of language games calling for sentences, with IF and UNLESS, and BEFORE and AFTER, and if when the teacher reads stories aloud, the class will chorus sentences from the story with these structures, the way is open to better understanding of what they will eventually have to read.

Although in many schools the ideal classroom is the quiet one, we know that all our pre-readers need to talk and talk a great deal before they look at a book they cannot understand. The quiet classroom has its place, but so has the classroom with meaningful oral language practice. If the three kinds of pupils are there together, we can plan for them and help them, so that their education has had a really good head start.

* * *

POETRY IN THE ESL CLASS

John Povey

To suggest that poetry might be a valuable addition to the ESL classroom as evidence of language usage often causes surprise. It is apparently one of the axioms of ESL teaching that the best reading material that will develop a learner's proficiency with the English language is good, straightforward English prose. Writing with a minimum of mannered style is assumed to be the most effective vehicle for the ESL student. This will partly explain the regular use of Hemingway as an exemplar of a direct comtemporary prose system for emulation, though in truth it might be observed that simplicity is a calculated art these days and Hemingway is a much more contrived stylist than the casual reader might imagine, and so even his work has intrusive 'literary' elements. If one accepts the view that the aim of ESL teaching is predominantly linguistic, it is easy to see what will be advocated as the most appropriate reading material. Literature has to be separated from belles lettres in that narrowly etiolated sense beloved of Eng. Lit. courses, since it may be linguistically abberant from normal conversational usage. It is taken for granted that the understanding of the use and quality of English can be better gained from some of the very well-written articles of general concern to be derived from such well-edited magazines as Harpers or Saturday Review.

Within its very obviously limited educational philosophy this is good enough, and many an ESL program has existed quite harmoniously with such relatively modest literary aims. Many competent second language speakers may be required to go no further, as indeed a high proportion of native speakers are comfortably satisfied with this standard of reading appreciation. And yet even the most prosaic linguist might at some time ask the question whether something more "literary" might not have some value to the students of English--especially when it is recognized that many ESL students are not inhibited in appreciation of literature by years of sound training that somehow associates writing with vision of the effete poet and the appreciation of such verse as self-indulgent to the puritan spirit, if not actually sinful.

But from the willingness to accede to initial requests for a more than linguistic evaluation of the virtue and efficiency of literature as a tool for second language learning (and it is interesting that this is rarely advanced as an hypothesis of native speakers to study their own literature) it is a long jump to accepting the idea of offering poetry in a classroom for non-native speakers. It may be as well to admit in advance that various objections that will be the basis for rejecting poetry in the ESL context have validity. Poetry is difficult (sometimes, though poetry came before prose in all societies), the words are archaic and remote (in some writers), the syntax is deliberately convoluted (occasionally), its subjects are remote to contemporary interests (like love, death, war?), its rhythm is unnatural--(iambics, the essential rhythm of all English speech?).

Perhaps one should not answer the critics' clamors this way, for in their own terms they are undoubtedly right; but their terms are not totally inclusive. Without being grossly fanciful, one could argue that English poetry is the greatest achievement of the English language---perhaps of the English speaking people. English poetry demonstrates the ultimate limits of language usage; for poetry is language charged with meaning to the highest degree. To see the concentration of which language is capable under ideal conditions may not create a group of poets or poetry critics in the ESL classroom, but it can open the eyes of all but the most dogmatically mechanistic to the supreme possibilities of language. For the student, the distance from this recognition of language potential and his own usage may be far enough to be an unbridgeable gap. One may have to admit non-functional recognition has only limited usefulness. Yet who can say what difference of attitude to English is possible when its ultimate grandeur has been exposed through poetry? What different vision we may have of the landscape when we view Spain's dramatic hills after seeing the tortured colours of an El Greco painting, or of the English fields after seeing them glowing greenly in Constable's soft colours. To open eyes is enough an aim for education and one must not assume that the limited vocabulary of the non-native speaker makes for blindness of perception of the essential things.

But I grow too philosophic and too fanciful, and perhaps one might avoid all such discussion by taking a stand on simpler and more pragmatic ground---that poetry is taught because it is there; that few teachers have the luxury of a totally self-selected program; that many are required to teach an unconnected bunch of poems that are part of some syllabus set by some unthinking and remote board. Granted this special limited narrow task, how does such a teacher begin? I like to think that one might well begin with confidence in the pleasure of poetry--even if it has to be partly assumed because one's own true appreciation of poetry was carefully castrated some years back in the dreary wastes of high school English classes. But why not begin with the assumption that they might LIKE a piece, and tell them so? I saw an ESL class recently in which the teacher began with some words like "I know you don't like poetry and you find it tedious and boring, but it isn't as bad as you think. Poetry is only a song without music and you all like songs..." The song-poetry connection has promises for a lesson, but after the apparent initial agreement that poetry is by definition dull, the prospects for an exhilerating lesson are not high.

The first stage of the presentation might be to discuss what poetry is. Probably the easy way to decide this is to prove what it isn't. The ready American answers will insist upon three aspects; poetry rhymes, it has a regular rhythm, and when you point out demonstrable cases where these mechanical elements do not apply, you get the vague assurance that it is about "poetic" i.e. "beautiful" things. The best cure for any such lingering inheritance of inadequate beliefs along these lines is a poem such as the following:

Roses are red,
Violets are blue,
Sugar is sweet,
And so are you.

That quatrain follows the rules of rhyme and regular rhythm, and what subject could be more poetic than devoted love. Yet it is obviously a worthless piece of doggerel to a degree that hardly needs proof. But then driven oneself to define more positively the quality that makes poetry, one finds the task is not **easy**. Such phrases as concentrated meaning, suggestive words causing complex reactions are prosaic indeed for the task. One is well-advised to leave that attempt with a rush to a more demonstrable method from given examples of what a poem is. More accurately, perhaps, one should attempt to give an answer to John Ciardi's fascinating question, "How does a poem mean?" "How" is the first explanation required, for in learning the how the student will come closer to a sense of the meaning and structure of a poem.

One might begin with the assertion and demonstration that the quality of a poem rests in its images and that an image is, roughly speaking, created by the use of simile or the metaphor, the latter being more effective because of its greater measure of concentration. An image creates an association because we rationally make it work. A simile demonstrably suggests identities between two things which have some elements in common, but only some, and the essence of an effective image is that the areas of overlapping identity strike us more forcefully than the areas of extreme difference. I have demonstrated this with a simple diagram of a pair of partially overlapping circles. One circle represents the thing described and the other that to which the thing is compared. These circles can overlap each other in minor or extensive ways, but they can never completely match because the thing can never exactly be that other thing to which it is compared.

To be specific after so much generalizing, the most famous simile perhaps in British poetry is that of Robert Burns "My love is like a red red rose..." Now the poet sees some identity here. Clearly it is not in the absurd qualities that might be deliberately brought to mind. His love is not long and green and she does not have spikes up her body. She does not bury her feet in the earth. These are the illegitimate elements which must be eliminated from the comparison if it is to be effective in illuminating the observation of the poet. One must begin to investigate the elements that are appropriate for the comparison---the tactual, softness of petals, the sweetness of scent, the perfection within its class of things, etc. that make the poet's compliments. Some images are sensory in this way; others require intellectual inspection for their unravelling. Donne's very famous love image is a case where intellectual associations are most strong. Finally, after great love and devotion, he was able to possess his loved woman. His delight and awe is recorded in an image deep-set within 17th century history. He remarks of his mistress, "Ah my America, my new-found-**land**." That image besides being a nice pun, reminds us of the fervor and excitement of discovery that possessed the old explorers in their search for new worlds. Perhaps in this case the history is less vital for the foreign student who may be making his own reaction to the dramatic first impact of America. Clearly anyone who knows that Newfoundland is a wretched section of rocky and frigid land and intrudes this part of the truth upon the analogy will not get far towards appreciating the writer's feelings. I have used some pre-selected images from the poetry of Louis McNeice to demonstrate the nature of poetry and encourage the observation of this technique. A verb usage such as the vivid picture of time in the London spring. "When daffodils butter the parks" is clearly a visual, almost tactual image of color, recalling the palate knife thickness of an oil painting. In a similar way "Raindrops pimple the pavement" contains an unexpectedly visual verb which causes a curious hesitation of surprise, and then closer inspection proves its appropriateness to the vision of the rain splashing upwards as it bounces hard upon the road. (This suggests one quality of a poem as a work of art---recognition. Poetry enables us to see more sharply than our original casual and imprecise observation had permitted--it is not that you don't "know" love, but that a Donne can articulate how you incoherently felt about love.) Another example: In the phrase, "the patent leather sheen of roofs," McNeice referring pictorially to London grey slate roofing under the inevitable drizzle, another note enters. Along with all the visual elements of shininess and grey sheen, there is patent leather as man-made and therefore less "natural" than say wood or thatch, which prepares us for McNeice's slick condemnation of the city. In the line that follows, the image is not visual at all; it has become a full-scale intellectual pun. "Between cast iron past and plastic future." This is not only a simple review of history between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seen through its most common industrial material but also makes a more personal and philosophical statement that this past is cast and formed and unmalleable, while the future will still be amenable to our moulding it towards change.

This is not meant to be anything so shallow as a kind of game of associations, though there is always a remote danger that the New Criticism (also known as the Chicago School of Criticism) with its heavy emphasis on meaning rather than the external biographical and historical background of any work of literature, will lead us into that direction if pressed to excess. What in fact one seeks to do is to suggest to the student the almost infinite semantic possibilities that words possess, the enormous range of linguistic understanding laid open by a recognition of the total discrepancy between the denotative and connotative elements of words--in fact, a small detour into this fascinating field is very relevant in a tangential way. How many words can the boys think of for female and what are the range of associations of each is in itself an interesting exercise in the suggestive powers of words, which is the fundamental intention in this presentation. For the ESL student the discovery from this discussion of registers and attitudes within words is a valuable guide to vocabulary beyond dictionary usage.

One of the most effective images to clinch the point of association in this way is the great phrase from Homer "the Wine-dark sea." To my dismay I have lately been authoritatively told that this is merely an inaccurate Victorian translation. Its effect is not the less impressive. If one writes this phrase on the board, one can separate the two-barrelled element of the image "wine" and "dark." If there has been good response, one can ask for associative ideas derived from these two words. Wine usually calls forth (either voluntarily or with some teacher guidance) associations of warmth, rich colour, loveliness, intoxication, joy, conviviality, cheer. Dark produces the opposite connotations of fear, death, threat, evil, the unknown. Stand these two lists together and you have a very vivid picture of the attitude to the sea appropriate to those who live by it. There is the excitement, fearful challenge and warm allurement at the same time as it is seen as a threat that does inevitably bring death to the sea-farer. Thus, within a pair of juxtaposed words there is the concentration of the whole complex and dualistic reactions men feel to this constant ocean element. Here is language flowing out to include the widest range of sensory and emotional associations so that two simple words become a very profound and detailed statement that describes both thing and attitude in a single essence of an image. As a conclusion to the issues raised, at this point I discuss with the class a whole poem. A most effective one I have discovered is J.P. Clark's Ibadan. This is almost a brief haiku, which allows a very rapid comprehension of its outlines. It exemplifies the issues which have been discussed in general terms and it has another significant advantage; it is written by an African. This demonstrates that it is the nature and structure of poetry in English that is under consideration and not the work of British and American writers alone. Many students come from areas where a flourishing second language literature has already begun in English: Nigeria, India, Philippines, Kenya and Korea. They will recognize the context from which this clever poem derives.

Ibadan, in Nigeria, is surprisingly enough the third largest city in Africa, and Clark describes it briefly, most likely as seen from an airplane or perhaps from a local hill. e.g.

> Ibadan,
> running splash of rust
> and gold--flung and scattered
> among seven hills like broken
> china in the sun.

This is a short but very skillful poem. There is no particular regular rhythm or line length here. yet the divisions are not arbitrary but beautifully contrived--a point worth stressing, for there may be students who regard blank verse as the easy way of writing. Initially, Ibadan stands alone as a declamation, and then it is described first by a metaphor and then by a simile...a simple enough structural format. Yet the results make a clever and perceptive description. A teacher might guide the student in recognizing its effective qualities.

Ibadan as a single opening statement is separated, almost a **fanfare** which sets the attention for the qualifying observations. From on high the town looks like a splash--its non-geometric shape forming an irregular star as it fills with its brown colour the area within the rich green Nigerian forests that surround it. The visual shape and colour of spilled coffee are suggested and the precise colour is investigated in the next two nouns, and they are deliberately separated. Rust is a rich red-brown colour and is appropriate for the rapidly oxidising metal roofs of the housing. Then there is gold, as that same brown glitters in the bright sun. But the balance is established by the associations between ruse and gold, for even though there is a similarity of colour, our reactions are vastly different. Rust indicates decay and disintegration, while gold is a pure metal that does not corrode, and is freely used as a symbol of great value. So, within the phrase, the good and bad elements are held, controlled intellectually by the hiatus established by the line break. Ibadan becomes like most cities, wealthy and declining, beautiful and corroding, eternal and decaying. The oppositions continue in the imagination as the associative sense of the words generate more of those dual concepts. The splash becomes larger, more irregular in shape. The splash is now scattered like a liquid spilled when with a huge sweep that container is wildly knocked over. The shape of Ibadan is seen as it follows the contours up the sides of the hills that surround the city. There are seven of these hills, we are told. In practice there may be more or less from my own attempts to count, but then one remembers another city that had seven hills--imperial Rome. Without pressing the analogy too fancifully, one knows that, although an African, the poet is schooled in the European tradition. He is undoubtedly using this association deliberately. Could Ibadan be a new Rome? Is the center of the world now shifting from Europe to Africa?--the ideas here become mere speculations, and yet the intrusion and balance established between Europe and Africa is a suggestive one. Then there is the final simile and a vivid one of the pointed bright roofs of the houses seen from a high distance, looking like the chips of china of a broken cup. At first, the image is only a picture appropriate for its shape, glinting in the reflected light, but then one sees how the poet uses this to tie the poem together, because the broken china can be the broken cup which held that splashed liquid that forms the irregular shape of modern Ibadan in his first metaphor. The whole poem now becomes part of a single developed image, rather than a pair of unrelated comparisons, optically and intellectually concentrating the poet's vision of the city.

Such an exercise may have no more intrinsic worth than a jig-saw puzzle, unless it can be used to establish that poetry is not a series of emotional sounds but a highly contrived intellectual process to describe those emotions. Poetry is an act of the will making order and articulation out of event. It covers emotion by managing to be itself above emotion, refusing to be swamped by the intensity of feeling it aims at suggesting. In understanding the possibilities of language usage which the poet epitomizes, perhaps there is a new attitude to language generated. This may make a student, particularly an ESL one, ready to listen and think of the qualities of English words, more prepared to employ the language sensitively and recognize its tone and quality. I like to think that that will be so, but as an unrepentant teacher of English literature, I would probably be tempted to continue even if it could be proved that my poetry classes were linguistically useless, to argue, "Well, it's good for them and they might even like it." A combination of learning and pleasure in a single class carries its own convincing educational value.

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AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILD'S PERCEPTION OF FORMAL, LITERARY ENGLISH

Bradford Arthur

Children enter the elementary school system with a sophisticated and virtually complete coding system for the production and interpretation of sentences in their language. On the other hand, these children clearly do not fully command the stylistic range in their language that they will be expected to employ as educated adults. The elementary school language arts teacher must begin the job of increasing the number of stylistically different variants of their language that each student controls.

Stylistic variations in the language of a single individual seem in many respects similar to the variations that occur among individuals speaking different dialects of the same language. Some linguists have assumed that stylistic variation is one form of dialect variation. Possibly, the second dialect teaching techniques now being developed to teach standard English to speakers of a non-standard dialect may in the future be used more generally to teach all students a wider range of stylistic dialects.

William Labov in his paper, "Stages in the Acquisition of Standard English," describes the learning of more formal varieties of the native language as an extension of the language learning process which continues up through the secondary school years.[1] Labov distinguishes six levels in the acquisition of spoken English and specifies the age at which each of these levels is attained. So, for example, the basic grammar, the first stage, is mastered in the pre-school years. The second stage, the vernacular, is mastered in the preadolescent years, roughly ages five to twelve. Of particular importance for the present discussion is the stage Labov calls stylistic variation when "the child begins to learn how to modify his speech in the direction of the prestige standard, in formal situations, or even to some extent in casual speech."[2] Labov states that the onset of stylistic variation of this sort occurred in the population he was studying during the first year of high school.

Some observations which I made of my daughter Kathy's command of stylistically different varieties of English when she was an eight-year-old third grader, suggest that some characteristics of formal, literary English may already have been mastered by preliterate or semiliterate elementary school children. Kathy was asked to tell a familiar story--she chose *Cinderella*--in her own words, at normal conversational speed. Her rendition of the story was tape recorded. This first oral version of the story was supposed to be "practice" for a second, written version of the same story. This second version was written out at the typewriter, sentence by sentence, as Kathy dictated it. Although Kathy had at that time told numerous stories out loud, she had never previously produced the type of extended "composed" story that she dictated for typing. Kathy was scarcely able to read, let alone to write, either version of the story which she produced. She had learned the story of *Cinderella* from at least four sources: the Walt Disney animated cartoon version of the story, the televised Rogers and Hammerstein musical version of the story and at least two other shorter storybook versions. Complete texts for both of Kathy's versions of the story are included at the end of this paper.

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[1] William Labov, "Stages in the Acquisition of Standard English," in: *Social Dialects and Language Learning*, ed. Roger W. Shuy, National Council of Teachers of English (Champaign, Illinois, 1964), pp. 77-103

[2] Ibid., p. 91.

Kathy's first version was told in the stylistic dialect of English that she normally used at that age in talking to her parents. In the second, dictated, version, on the other hand, Kathy was consciously trying to elevate her style. She "composed" with deliberation, several times making stylistic "improvements" in sentences that she had previously dictated. The stylistic differences between the two renditions of the story are evidence that Kathy was at that time aware of many of the stylistic differences that distinguish conversational English from more formal, literary English and that Kathy was able to express that awareness in her own prose. Six of the indications of a stylistic shift between the two versions are discussed below:

1. Perhaps the most striking difference between the two versions is in the use of coordinating conjunctions and phrases functioning as coordinating conjunctions. In the first version, virtually every sentence other than the first and those in direct quotations begins with one of five coordinating conjunctions: *and*, *then*, *and then*, *but*, and *and so*. In version two, coordinating conjunctions are used more sparingly. Numerous sentences do not employ them. In those sentences where coordinating conjunctions are used, the variety of different conjoining words or phrases is far greater. The following thirteen occur: *and*, *then*, *and while*, *and then*, *but then*, *so*, *and next*, *and at once*, *but*, *when*, *and so*, *by that time*, *and then at that second*.

2. A number of stylistic word-order inversions associated with formal or literary prose occur in the second but not the first of these two versions of *Cinderella*. The first sentence provides a good example. Version one begins: "Once there was a girl that was named Cinderella." Version two begins, "Once upon a time there lived a little girl named Cinderella." The second version of this sentence with the underlying subject moved to a position after an intransitive verb and replaced by the dummy subject *there* is so common in children's stories that it amounts to a literary cliché. Such an inversion, however, would never occur in the conversational English of a third grade child. Further examples of an inversion of the normal word order of spoken English occur in the placement of the name of the speaker in direct quotations. The normal word order in spoken English, and the order that occurs throughout version one would be: *X said, "...."* This construction is found, for example, in version one as: *And then she said, "Wait, What about my clothes?"* or *And then the king said, "Take this slipper..."* Two inversions of this order occur at various points in version two of *Cinderella*. The speaker is sometimes identified in the middle of a quotation: *"And then," said the fairy godmother, "we need some rats."* The speaker is also identified at the end of the quotation: *"Oh, thank you," said Cinderella.* Note that in these two stylistic inversions Kathy had quite properly reversed the order of the subject and verb: *Cinderella said*, has become *said Cinderella*.

3. A subordinate clause functioning as an adverbial of time occurs only once in the first version of the story: *And then when she put it on,*

she turned into all of her beautiful clothes again. The second version of the story contains a number of such constructions: *And while she was gone, a prince was riding; Then when it was time to go, Cinderella asked, "May I go?" When the prince saw her, he was delighted, and danced with her all evening.* In place of such preceeding adverbial clauses, version one tends to substitute conjoined sentences: *And then she was in the house and her stepmother said, "Now you finish the house and we're going to go someplace."*

4. In version one, when two conjoined sentences share the same subject, that subject is almost always expressed as a pronoun in the second of the two sentences. So for example: *The messenger came, and he gave a message; And she ran, and she ran, and she ran home.* The second occurrence of the subject is seldom deleted entirely in version one. The deletion of the subject in conjoined sentences occurs more frequently and in structurally more complex sentences in version two: *When the prince saw her, he was delighted, and danced with her all evening; And she hurried back home before her stepmother and stepsisters got home and started back to her work; By that time the mice had taken the key from the stepmother's pocket and had slipped it under the door.*

5. Kathy tells both versions of her story in the past tense. However, in version one, she lapses for two or three sentences into the present tense. This lapse begins with the sentence: *And then her fairy godmother goes bippity-boppity-boo...* Version two contains no such lapsing into the present tense. The past tense is used throughout the narrative, and the present tense is used only in direct quotations.

6. In version two, the literary verb *wept* is used in place of the less literary verb *cried* which occurs in version one. The non-standard construction *became into* (*the mice became into horses*) is replaced in version two by the standard form (*then the mice became horses.*).

These stylistic differences between Kathy's two renditions of *Cinderella* support three fundamental assumptions regarding the nature of formal or literary dialect learning by school age children:

1. The learning of formal literary dialect variants does not follow the same sort of developmental, maturational, timetable that predicts so well the acquisition of language during the first two or three years of life. Kathy's command of more formal variants in her language is far greater than that observed by Labov in children of comparable age. Social and environmental influences may be more important than biological maturation in determining the command of formal English among elementary and secondary school children.

2. An almost entirely passive exposure to formal literary English can lead to the ability to produce this stylistic dialect actively in "composed" prose. In her pre-school and earlier school years, Kathy had heard hundreds of stories couched in the literary language of children's books. Her telling of *Cinderella* was, however, the first time that Kathy ever had occasion to produce an extended corpus of this same stylistic dialect of prose. Her performance clearly indicates that her passive assimilation of literary prose enabled her to produce an approximation of such prose easily and naturally herself with no special training or encouragement.

3. The ability to "compose" written English, as Kathy did in the second rendition of *Cinderella*, is clearly separable from the mastery of

the mechanics of written English such as spelling and punctuation. Kathy would have been totally unable to write down and scarcely able to read the stories that she told.

The three conclusions drawn above have implications for future programs in teaching formal or literary dialects of English to school age children. First, the school system should not assume that all entering students will have the same degree of knowledge and awareness of more formal dialects of their language. Labov's findings are in dramatic contrast with the observations described above. Tests might be devised to measure the entering first grader's knowledge of stylistic variation within his language. Only on the basis of such pre-tests could teachers determine what each child needs to be taught.

Moreover, teaching children a formal literary dialect or stylistic variant of their language should not be confused with teaching the mechanics of writing. Learning the appropriate stylistic variant of a language and learning the appropriate symbols in which such variants may be committed to paper are two distinct learning tasks. Combining them can only make the learning of both more difficult, perhaps for some children, impossible.

Finally, the sort of massive exposure to formal literary English that children can receive from hearing stories read to them aloud is an important aid to the later development of skills in composition. Although children are obviously unable to express themselves at normal conversational speed in the sort of language that they hear in stories (this ability perhaps begins in adolescence as Labov suggests), such formal language can be elicited from young children when they are allowed to slow down the rate of composition and to contemplate previously composed sentences as Kathy did when dictating her story to a typist. The ability to retell a familiar story in composed, formal English--an ability that Kathy undoubtedly shares with many other third-graders--provides a natural starting point for the teaching of composition.

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What follows is the complete text of both versions of Cinderella discussed above. Obvious false starts and pauses have been omitted in typing. Punctuation was, of course, supplied. Otherwise, these typed copies are as true as possible to the spoken originals.

Kathy - version 1 (conversational tempo)

Once there was a girl that was named Cinderella. And she lived in a house with her stepsisters and her stepmother. And her stepmother was real bad to her. And she made her do all the work. And her stepsisters were mean and selfish at her. And then she was in the house, and her stepmother said, "Now you finish the house and we're going to go someplace." And they went someplace, and the prince came along. And then Cinderella said, "Would you like some water?" And then he said, "Oh, yes." And then, she got some water. And then the stepmother came back, and the messenger came and he gave a message that the prince was having a ball, and then Cinderella couldn't go because her stepmother wouldn't let her; she had too much work to do. And so the mice fixed up all the clothes for her. And then the girl said, "No, that's mine; no, that's mine." And Cinderella was crying. Then she went in the garden and cried and then a fairy godmother came and said, "Don't fear because I'm going to help you make the things that you need. First of all, we need a pumpkin." And then she got a pumpkin. And then some mice and some... cats. And then the pumpkin became into horses, I mean the carriage, and the mice became into horses, and the cats became into men. And then they rode off, and then she said, "Wait, What about my clothes?" And then the fairy godmother goes bippity-boppity-boo, and she has lots of good clothes. And then her fairy godmother says, "You'd better be back by twelve because then the things will be all back to the pumpkin and the mice and the cats. And so she went to the ball and the prince said, "Oh, I love her." And then she danced with the prince, and then the clock struck twelve, and she ran, and she ran, and she ran home. And she dropped a slipper and the messenger said--and the king said, "Take this slipper until you find the person that matches the foot on the slipper." And then the messenger went, and then he dropped by house by house until finally he came to Cinderella's house. And then the stepmother locked her up in her room. And then he tried it on one stepsister's foot, and it didn't go. And then she tried on the other stepsister's foot, but it didn't go. And then the mice by that time were--they sneaked the key out from the stepmother's pocket, and they brought, and they slipped it under the door. And then she got it and she said, "Wait, wait. How about me?" And then she tried it on, and it matched. And then when she put it on, she turned into all her beautiful clothes again. And they lived happily ever after.

* * *

Kathy - version 2 (dictation)

Once upon a time there lived a little girl named Cinderella. And there was the stepmother and the two stepsisters. They were very mean. The stepmother made Cinderella work all the time. And she could hardly rest. Then one day the stepmother said, "I am going to the store, and I want you to take care of the house." And while she was gone, a prince was riding. It was a hot day and the prince was getting thirsty. The prince asked Cinderella if he could have a drink of water. Cinderella answered at once. Then the stepmother came home. The stepmother said, "Did you let anyone in the house?" Cinderella answered, "No, but I did give a kind man a drink of water." The stepmother said, "You fool! I told you not to do that! Get back to work at once." One day a messenger came along. He was giving out invitations to the ball. Then the stepsister said, "Can we go, stepmother?" Then the stepmother said, "Of course you may go." And then Cinderella asked if she could go. The stepmother said, "No, you have too much work to do." Then the night of the ball came. The stepsisters were getting dressed for the ball. Cinderella was helping them zip and button. Then, when it was time to go, Cinderella asked, "May I go?" The stepmother said, "You may not go. You have too much work to do." Then Cinderella went into the garden and wept. Then a shiny light came down, and it was a fairy godmother. Cinderella was scared at first, but then the fairy godmother said, "Don't be afraid, Cinderella. I am your fairy godmother. Would you like to go to the ball," said the fairy godmother. "Oh, yes, oh, yes," said Cinderella, "but I don't have anything." "Well, we'll take care of that," said the fairy godmother. "First we need a pumpkin." So Cinderella brought a pumpkin. "And next we need some mice." And Cinderella got the mice too. "And then," said the fairy godmother, "we need some rats." And then Cinderella did just what she said. And at once the pumpkin became a carriage, and the mice became horses, and rats became men. And then the fairy godmother said, "There's one thing we have forgotten." "What," said Cinderella. "How about your clothes?" "Oh," said Cinderella. "We need a nice gown," said the fairy godmother. "And some nice glass slippers." "Oh, thank you," said Cinderella. Cinderella got in the carriage and was ready to go, but the fairy godmother stopped her, and said, "Wait, you have to be back by twelve o'clock." Then Cinderella got in her carriage and went. When the prince saw her, he was delighted, and danced with her all evening. Then the clock struck twelve, and Cinderella said, "I must be leaving now." And the prince said, "No, no, Cinderella. I want to dance with you some more. You're so pretty." And then Cinderella hurried out the door. And she dropped a slipper. And then she changed back into her old clothes again. And she hurried back home before her stepmother and stepsisters got home and started back to her work. Then the stepmother and stepsisters came home. The stepmother said, "Why aren't you finished with your work?" Cinderella said, "I guess I was just slow today." Then the stepmother and the stepsisters went up and got undressed. By that time at the palace, the prince had found the golden slipper that Cinderella had dropped. And the king said, "We must find that beautiful princess." And so the messenger brought the slipper around to the whole town. And then he came to Cinderella's house. The stepmother saw him, and she locked Cinderella up in a little room. The messenger tried the slipper on one of the stepsisters, and it wouldn't go on. He tried it on another stepsister, but it didn't go on either. By that time, the mice had taken the key from the stepmother's pocket and had slipped it under the door. Cinderella said, "Thank you, thank you," to the mice, and she ran down the stairs and said, "Wait, the slipper might fit my foot." Then the messenger slipped it on her foot, and it went on just right. Then, at that second, she turned into her beautiful gown again, and the prince and princess lived happily ever after. The end.

FRAGMENTARY NOTES ON PRONUNCIATION TEACHING

John Spencer

The following fragments are from a study of Phonetics and the Teaching of English which I am slowly compiling and into which I hope to put some of my experience in this field in Asia, Africa and Europe. If the sections hang awkwardly together, my excuse must be that this is genuinely a workpaper, in the sense that these are segments from work in progress. I hope they may provoke and stimulate, nevertheless, even if they do not enlighten. Needless to say, they are written entirely within the context of the British TESL experience and the British tradition of Phonetics and pronunciation teaching.

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> '...for the encouragement of people troubled with accents that cut them off from all high employment, I may add that the change wrought by Professor Higgins in the flower-girl is neither impossible nor uncommon... But the thing has to be done scientifically, or the last stage of the aspirant may be worse than the first.'
> --George Bernard Shaw, Preface to *Pygmalion*, 1912.

Skilled practical phoneticians have often had remarkable success in teaching an almost native-like pronunciation of a language to very small numbers of highly motivated students, in circumstances which permitted them to devote many hours of individual attention, over an extended period, to each pupil. This process was given publicity, perhaps even notoriety, by Shaw's famous social comedy *Pygmalion*. *My Fair Lady*, the musical based upon it, has now caused Phonetics, and its applicability to the teaching of pronunciation, to become recognised, if not understood, by tens of millions of people all over the world. It may be questioned whether the practical applications of any academic discipline have ever before received such distinguished literary treatment or subsequent popularisation: Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* can scarcely be regarded as a worthy historical parallel.

Phoneticians and pronunciation teachers, quite understandably, have somewhat ambivalent feelings towards Shaw's portrait of their profession. On the one hand, it gives some indirect and gratuitous prestige to what might otherwise have been, in the popular mind, a minor and obscure discipline. On the other hand, the dramatic context within which his image is projected gives to the phonetician something of the aura of the alchemist in the medieval imagination, though perhaps without the heretical stigma. The articulatory alchemy wrought by Higgins upon Eliza Doolittle's speech habits--by the application, it is true, of scientific principles and techniques--may suggest that such phonetic transformations are infinitely repeatable, given enough phoneticians. It may also imply that pronunciation teaching must in all circumstances place maximum emphasis upon those characteristics of the model accent which particularly distinguish it from all other varieties of the language. It may be noted in this connection that the famous drill-phrase 'the rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain' contains a diphthong which has for long been, to the phonetically class-conscious English, a notorious social shibboleth.

It would be false to suggest that Pygmalion or My Fair Lady have actually had a direct influence upon pronunciation teaching within TESL programmes. What can be claimed, however, is that Pygmalion dramatises certain underlying pedagogical and social attitudes which have been shared by many of the British who have been concerned with English language teaching in the recent past. Reaction to the pedagogically optimistic (and also perhaps socially narcissistic) Pygmalion myth, as a result of new, post-colonial TESL circumstances, and within the context of a changing sociolinguistic pattern of accent-class relationships in Britain, has certainly been an important contributory factor in the rise of what Clifford Prator has acutely called 'the British heresy in TESL'.[1]

It is suggestive to enquire in what respects the pedagogical situation presented by Shaw differs from those to be found in the normal world of TESL today:

1. Higgins devoted, it appears, the whole of his time and energies for six months to one pupil: at least, there is no mention of other academic duties. In this respect he seems to have been a fortunate, though not unique, specimen of the professorial classes.
2. Changing Eliza's speech behaviour was part of the larger process of acculturating her to a totally different social class and way of life--a process which, it may be remembered, began with the forcible administration of a hot bath by Higgins' housekeeper.
3. During the whole of the process Higgins had Eliza to live with him, thus simplifying the acculturation process, though complicating their emotional relationship.
4. Eliza desperately wished to change her speech habits, possessing what today we would call 'high motivation'. This motivation, however, was primarily the product of social insecurity combined with social ambition; it was not because of any sense on her part that her native speech was unintelligible.

This is, of course, not what one could term a typical language teaching situation. The first three factors are rarely if ever present in normal TESL circumstances; the fourth is also commonly absent.

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[1] Clifford H. Prator, "The British Heresy in TESL", in Fishman, Ferguson and Gupta, Language Problems of Developing Nations, New York, 1968.

> ' "Such a man as Dewy is! Nobody do know the trouble I have taken to keep that man barely respectable. And did you ever hear too - just now at supper-time - talking about 'taties' with Michael in such a work-folk way? Well, 'tis what I was never brought up to! With our family 'twas never less than 'taters', and very often 'pertatoes' outright; mother was so particular and nice with us girls; there was no family in the parish that kept theirselves up more than we." '
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> --Thomas Hardy, Under the Greenwood Tree, 1872.

As is well-known, speech behaviour and class distinction have for centuries been closely linked in Britain, and especially in England. Sociolinguistically, England may be seen as a 'differentiating' society, with pronunciation operating, often cruelly, as one of the indices of class membership.[2] By contrast, American society may be said to possess in this respect 'unifying' tendencies, in intent if not always in practice. It is not therefore surprising that during the colonial period Britain's only educationally respectable phonetic export was the English 'governing voice', even if it was often taught by Scots and Irish teachers. Known to phoneticians as 'Received Pronunciation', or by the more kindly, if less accurate or socially penetrating phrase 'Southern Standard British', it is the only variety of British pronunciation which has been extensively described in pedagogical manuals or pronouncing dictionaries; most notably, of course, in the works of the late Daniel Jones. Few published descriptions of other British accents, in pedagogically suitable form, have ever been produced. The only two I have discovered, after a fairly diligent search, are R. J. Lloyd's little manual Northern English, which was written in 1899 but not published until 1907, in Germany, after the author's death; and William Grant's Scottish Pronunciation, published in 1905. Both were written for use in teacher training colleges in Britain. Neither went into a second edition, and they have been out of print for decades.

For Europe, the Daniel Jones codification of British Received Pronunciation was for several decades almost universally acceptable.[3] It was the most prestigious accent within England. It also possessed the sacred sanction of the British Broadcasting Corporation--as a result, incidentally, of a decision made by the first Director-General of the B.B.C., Sir John Reith, a Scot with a Scottish accent. And until recently all this seemed to upset no one, at least from the pedagogical point of view.

Now, however, the situation is changing within Britain itself. The B.B.C. has modified its policy quite sharply, to the extent of using newscasters and announcers with a variety of accents. For the younger generation the English disc jockey's mid-Atlantic accent or the pop singer's regional pronunciation is possibly more influential as a model for imitation than the speech behaviour of the older generation of B.B.C. radio announcers. Social class distinctions are becoming blurred, and a recent survey of university attitudes shows that many present-day British students are consciously reluctant to modify their pronunciation in the direction of the older, upper-middle class norm. They prefer to retain, and take pride in, the accents they learned in what, for an increasing number of them, were lower-middle or working class homes. Very properly, and not before time, Received Pronunciation is being devalued in many areas of British life. Nevertheless--and this is the pedagogical rub--it remains the only well-described British accent available in phonetic manuals for teaching overseas.

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[2] An examination of the sociolinguistic aspects of British Received Pronunciation may be found in my "Received Pronunciation: some problems of interpretation", Lingua 7, 1, 1957.

[3] Including the U.S.S.R. and, as I recently learned from members of the faculty at the University of Ulan Bator, also in the People's Republic of Outer Mongolia.

In 1937, on the occasion of the publication of a new edition of Daniel Jones' Pronouncing Dictionary, J. R. Firth commented with some asperity and prescience:

> 'The entirely new and revised edition of Professor Daniel Jones's English Pronouncing Dictionary, the standard work on the subject, records the pronunciation of 'Southern English people who have been educated at the Public Schools', 'used by a rather small minority', but 'readily understood in most parts of the English-speaking world'. Actually there are very few types of educated English, including polite Scots or Irish, to which the last remark could not be applied. And American film English is, if anything, more universal.
>
> 'As we have seen, however, sacred or 'standard' languages are carried by elites and are given to the people. It is not in the least surprising, therefore, to find Professor Jones calling it 'Received Pronunciation'. But elites circulate with changing social conditions. If, as seems likely, the linguistic virtues of public schoolboys should depreciate in community value, other forms of linguistic propriety will take their places and be described as 'standard'.[4]

The problem for British TESL specialists is to discover and describe for pedagogical purposes some other form of 'linguistic propriety'. At the moment they hardly know where to look.

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[4] J.R. Firth, The Tongues of Men, London, 1937, reprinted 1964. The term 'Public Schools' (and the derivative 'public schoolboys') must in this context be understood in its pecular British sense: to mean those private, residential, expensive schools (such at Eton, Winchester, etc.) to which the children of the upper and upper-middle classes have traditionally been sent. The 'Public Schools' account for the education of about two per cent of British children of school age. Their social and political influence has, however, been very great.

'When rape is inevitable, the best thing is to lie down
and try to enjoy it.' -- Old British political maxim.

The 1961 census in India recorded just over 100,000 people who claimed English as their mother tongue. The majority of these must have been members of the Anglo-Indian community (formerly known as Eurasians). The pronunciation of the Anglo-Indians, who represent the only permanently resident native speakers of English in India, is, while distinctive, not markedly divergent from British accents and can certainly be regarded as internationally intelligible. However, as a result of the survival in present-day India of snobbish British attitudes towards the Anglo-Indian pronunciation of English, many educated Indians still look with disfavour on it.[5] Furthermore, few members of the Anglo-Indian community are at present in the teaching profession. Their accent can thus hardly be said to exercise much influence upon Indian pronunciation of English.

The same census reveals that eleven million Indians claimed a knowledge of English as a second language. If such a figure even approximates to the truth, the majority of this number must have learned English at secondary school. There are at present about one and a half million students in the Indian universities, and most of these require some proficiency in English as a qualification for entrance. Hardly any Indians who have been educated within India during the past thirty or forty years have learned English from native speakers. Most of them have never heard a native speaker of English. Insofar as they use English at all, they use it almost exclusively amongst themselves.

English in India is therefore, from the phonetic point of view, largely autonomous: that is to say, the influence of any external pronunciation model is bound to be extremely limited. This does not of course mean that spoken English in India is stable, or that Indian users of English can be regarded as a homogeneous speech community with an institutionalised local norm of pronunciation. It does mean, however, that English in India is, phonetically, almost entirely cut off from 'metropolitan' contacts--if in this context Britain or America may be called metropolitan--except at the very apex of the educational pyramid. Logistically, the task of increasing this contact and spreading it more widely through the educational system by means of recordings or radio lessons, is enormous. As with so much else in this vast, multilingual society, the pronunciation of English in India will have to find its own level. External influences are likely to have little influence upon it. In these circumstances, international intelligibility is no more significant than internal acceptability. The ultimate determinants of the kind of spoken English which carries the highest prestige rating in India will probably be elite groups within Indian society itself.

In the meantime the 'resource' countries need not give up in despair. Perhaps they ought to intensify their efforts to train phoneticians and linguists to staff the English departments of the Indian universities. At least, more centres of these disciplines in India, staffed by highly trained specialists, might ensure that problems relating to English in India, to questions of internal and external intelligibility of English, to the tendencies and directions of drift in spoken English in India, and to the sociolinguistic characteristics of the use of English, are rigorously explored and objectively discussed. The drift away from international intelligibility to be observed in the use of spoken English in India will only be halted after Indian attitudes have changed. When a reversal of the present trend is widely regarded in India as socially and educationally desirable, then perhaps pronunciation teaching and the practical application of Phonetics will be able to begin to make an impact.

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[5] The historical origins of this curious survival is explored in my 'The Anglo-Indians and their Speech: a sociolinguistic essay', Lingua, 16, 1, 1967.

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Clifford Prator is surely right to criticise British attitudes towards second-language Englishes. Much of what has been written in Britain about these matters is part fallacy, part wishful thinking, and part an attempt, albeit subsconsciously, to make a virtue out of the apparently inevitable--possibly with the Canute story in mind. It has to be admitted, however, that those concerned with TESL in areas formerly ruled by Britain are, as far as pronunciation teaching is concerned, in a rather more awkward spot than his article suggests.

British TESL specialists need to re-examine the relation between Phonetics and pronunciation teaching as it has developed since the days of Henry Sweet, who was, by Shaw's own admission, the prototype for Professor Higgins in Pygmalion, and was one of the founding fathers of the British tradition of 'practical Phonetics'. Sweet's views on this relationship were rather different from our own; they were more cautious and perhaps wiser. Also, apart from any other consideration, the extraordinary change in the very logistics of TESL during the past two decades ought to force us into some hard rethinking. We surely need more research into pronunciation learning, and into the 'sociophonetics' of English in changed circumstances around the world. Perhaps we should even try to look harder at that intractable problem of inter-comprehensibility among regional varieties of English, bearing in mind that intelligibility is as much 'in the hearer' as 'in the speaker'. There may be some comfort in a passage from a recent article by Einar Haugen:

> 'Communication does not require the participants to have identical languages. Despite the growing loss of efficiency in the communication process as language codes deviate, it is often astonishing how great a difference speakers can overcome if the will to understand is there. The elasticity of mutual comprehensibility is one of the reasons for the difficulty of setting

up any acceptable scale of language difficulty.'[6]

It is presumably one fundamental task of all TESL programmes to keep this elasticity within reasonable limits, and attempt to prevent it reaching breaking point.

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[6] Einar Haugen, 'Semicommunication: the Language Gap in Scandinavia', International Journal of American Linguistics, Part II, 33, 4, 1967.

THE PRAGUE SCHOOL AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING[x]

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The name of Professor Bohumil Trnka is inseparably associated with the history of the Cercle Linguistique de Prague. He was one of its founding members in 1926. His academic work, particularly in phonemics and morphemics, has made the ideas of the Prague School universally famous. He has remained true to the principles of Prague functional structuralism and has never ceased to develop them in his many contributions to linguistic science. This consistency in scholarly method is certainly one of the most remarkable personal characteristics of Professor Trnka, for which, among many other qualities, all his collaborators and students greatly admire and respect him. Wishing to pay tribute to my teacher, Professor Trnka, I felt it appropriate to contribute to his *Festschrift* a short essay dealing with a less familiar aspect of the Prague School.

When, in 1929, Professor Vilém Mathesius, first chairman and founder of the Prague Linguistic Circle, addressed the first national conference of Czechoslovak grammar school teachers, he read a paper on functional linguistics, outlining the merits and fertility of the new functional and structural concepts in linguistic science. "Every really great idea must find practical application and consequences. So too, the profundity of functional concepts in linguistics is best proved by the range of their practical application." Mathesius then mentioned the changes which the new functional approach to language would bring about in methods of teaching the mother tongue in the lower schools. Later on in the same year the idea of the practical application of the new methods of linguistic research to teaching the mother tongue was expressed anew in the joint propositions put forward by the members of the Prague Linguistic Circle to the First International Congress of Slavists held in Prague. Two of these propositions were entitled "Utilisation des nouvelles doctrines linguistiques dans les écoles secondaires, a) dans l'enseignement de la langue maternelle, b) dans l'enseignement des langues slaves" (Section III, 2a, b) which i.a., declared: „Pour le développement graduel du langage la critique de la langue contemporaine sert à l'élève à distinguer les instruments linguistiques connus des inconnus, à se rendre compte de leur mode d'emploi et à se demander comment on parvient, avec leur aide, au but que l'on s'est fixé. De même répondent à ce but les travaux personnelles des élèves, dans lesquels ils s'efforcent de satisfaire par les instruments linguistiques connus d'eux à une tâche fonctionnelle donnée; celle-ci à vrai dire commence par les plus simples fonctions communicatives et devient graduellement plus compliquée... Il faut rassembler les connaisances acquises au sujet de la langue en constituant un système linguistique; l'invention d'un système linguistique et l'étude de ce système ont pour l'élève un autre intérêt encore que la culture de la langue; mais la découverte d'un système est importante aussi pour l'experience linguistique, dans laquelle il s'agit d'expressions et de créations appropriées, nécessaires justement dans les fonctions de la langue littéraire." (2a, points 4 and 8).

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[x] Adapted and slightly abridged reprint of an article published in Acts Universitatis Carolinae-Philologica 3 - Prague Studies in English XI, 1965, 15-32. /With kind permission of the Editor/

Anyone even slightly familiar with the history of the Prague School of linguistics is aware of the important part played by this group of Czech linguists in the successful struggle for a new conception of "correctness in modern Czech usage", against the purists who formulated rules of correctness on the basis of historical factors in the evolution of the language. This new approach to correct usage in Modern Czech and Slovak has been applied in the new orthography, in orthoepy, in rules of morphology and word formation, in syntax and stylistics. Practically all textbooks of Czech and Slovak now used in Czechoslovak schools are based on this new approach. While this was not the only practical application of the new linguistic theories professed by the Prague School (mention could be made, for instance, of Professor Trnka's application of structural phonemics in his new system of Czech shorthand), the question may be posed to what extent the new principles of linguistic analysis have been applied to foreign language teaching. This question is quite topical today, in view of the influence of applied linguistics on language teaching, now so evident in the United States, in Great Britain, in the German Federal Republic and in many other parts of the world. Quite often we come across references in the literature of this branch of applied linguistics, which directly refer to and quote Prague structuralist theories as important sources, particularly in connection with the teaching of Russian as a foreign language.

Many followers of the Prague School, including its most eminent members Vilém Mathesius, Bohuslav Havránek, Bohumil Trnka and Josef Vachek, have always shown an interest in the practical application of linguistic functional structuralism to methods of foreign language teaching and many of them were either authors or editors of language textbooks. There may not have been many papers dealing directly with these questions during the formal existence of the Cercle Linguistique de Prague, from 1926 to 1950, but there exist a great many scattered allusions to the linguistic problems involved in foreign language teaching, allowing us to present here a self-contained summary.

Let us first state the views of the members of the Prague School on the two prevailing antagonistic trends in the methodology of foreign language teaching: the translation method and direct method. Neither could achieve really satisfactory results because neither has been based on sound linguistic principles. The translation method was not based on language as it really functioned as a system, but rather on fragmentary paradigmatic features of the foreign language, compared with equally fragmentary paradigmatic features of the mother tongue. The direct method was primarily based on the act of speaking. This encouraged detailed description of the sounds of the foreign language, in line with progress in phonetic research at the end of the 19th century, in order to achieve the best possible pronunciation. There can be no doubt that the direct method greatly stimulated progress in foreign language teaching, as attention was again centred on the primarily communicative function of language in its spoken form. Supporters of the direct method disregarded practically all considerations of grammar because they felt, rightly, that existing methods of establishing descriptive rules of grammar, irrespective of function in the general structure of the language, were a hindrance rather than a help in practical study of a modern spoken language. The direct method was based on the psychological fallacy that a second (foreign) language may be learned by an adolescent or an adult in exactly the same way as a child learns its mother tongue, that the foreign language could be learned without a grammar book. This may be true, but it could never be learned without, in some way or other, mastering a new grammatical system from which he learns to choose relevant structures in order to be able to express himself in the foreign language or to understand it. There can be no universal method of learning a foreign language nor can there be a universal textbook, because the learner's mind is no _tabula rasa_ in terms of language habits.

Three factors play an important role in determining the methodological approach to learning a foreign language. The structural system of the learner's mother tongue, his linguistic awareness of this system, and the aim or purpose for which the foreign language is being studied. The attempt to exclude the mother tongue completely from the process of learning foreign languages, as the adherents of the classical direct method claimed, is no more than an unrealistic fiction based on the above-mentioned fallacy of the child-like approach to learning a foreign language. The learner's mother tongue, i.e. its phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical structural system will always be present, awareness or no awareness. An efficient method should, therefore, always reckon with the existence of this system: both teachers and authors of foreign language textbooks must bear it in mind when they introduce their students to the new structural system of the foreign language. This does not imply that teaching a foreign language consists in talking about the structural system of that language. The nature of foreign language teaching is primarily practical which does not mean that it need not be based on scientific principles; indeed it must be. We may or may not use the mother tongue in our lessons--that is a secondary matter, depending on the circumstances in which we teach or on the purposes for which we write our textbooks. By paying constant attention to the learner's linguistic background, we accelerate the learning process and also make it more efficient because, particularly in the elementary stages, we should introduce only gradually those features of pronunciation, spelling, morphology, word-formation and syntax of the new language which are strange from the point of view of the learner's established speech habits. Right from the beginning, the teaching of a foreign language must include such practical language items which satisfy the function of elementary communication in the foreign tongue, i.e. one should use short, simple yet complete sentences in the foreign language to enable the student to express himself lucidly as soon as possible and to communicate in the foreign language, first in its spoken form and then in its written form. This means that one must start with complete utterances and proceed to analyse them and to compare the component parts with other elements within the system of the foreign language, or with analogous or non-analogous functions and meanings of such structures in the system of the mother tongue. Didactic principles of this kind were advocated by John Amos Comenius in his Methodus linguarum novissima, where he insisted that one should begin to teach a foreign language by using a text (in this case the written language, of course) and then explain its components by means of the technique of analysis, synthesis and syncrisis. At the intermediate or higher stages of teaching a foreign language, i.e. when the student has mastered the basic structures of the foreign language and has thus gained some practical experience in using it, an outline of those features of the foreign language which are characteristic, and therefore important, and by which the foreign language mainly differs from the learner's mother tongue, should be given.[a]

Methods of foreign language teaching have always sought theoretical justification in the findings of contemporary linguistic research. The neogrammarian school of the last century, though not of great help, left its mark on the presentation of grammar. Some of its categories, based on historical grammar, still persist and are more or less a burden in foreign language instruction (e.g. the notion of strong and weak verbs in modern Germanic languages). Research on speech physiology and acoustics and the findings of experimental phonetics have certainly helped to improve the teaching of pronunciation but have not helped to reveal the systematic features of the phonemic system of a language. Functional and structural linguistics are really the first methods of linguistic interpretation to provide a sound theoretical basis and positive orientation for foreign language teaching methodology. The new linguistic science provides the teacher with the understanding of what constitutes a living language and how it functions to enable the user to express himself in a given context of situation and for a specific purpose. In other words, functional linguistics supplies the teacher with what has to be taught (the language material), but does not, of course, tell him how to teach it (this concerns methodology). The new approach in linguistic interpretation of living languages, as exemplified by the theories of the Prague School, has not yet been fully utilized in teaching these languages as foreign languages.

Let us recall here some of the basic principles established for the systematic analysis of a given language, as formulated by the late Professor Mathesius. 1) The synchronic approach. Language is a living means used by a speaker or writer to communicate with an interlocutor or a reader. 2) The functional principle. The linguistic means used to express and communicate the needs of the speaker (from function to form). 3) The principle of the systematic character of language. Language is an organic whole made up of coexistent linguistic facts in causal relationship. 4) The method of analytical comparison of languages. By comparing languages of different types, preferably unrelated, irrespective of their genetic relationship, one gains a more profound understanding of the real meaning and function of linguistic facts. The general needs of expression and communication common to all men, regardless of their cultural environment, are the sole common denominator to which means of expression and communication, varying from language to language, can be reduced. All these principles were first applied to the phonemic analysis of Modern Czech, Slovak, English, Russian, and, to a lesser extent, of German. The findings of the Prague School in this field of linguistic research have been generally appreciated wherever new lines in linguistic science are being followed. Many textbooks of foreign languages issued before the Second World War, during the War and after it have applied some of these findings, particularly those which help explain the phonemics of the target language, making full use of relevant inherent contrasts and also contrasting these relevant phonemic features with those of the learner's mother tongue. To quote some examples, I should like to mention here the numerous foreign language textbooks by Professor Trnka: in the three-volume *Učebnice jazyka anglického* written[1] for secondary schools the authors *no longer confined themselves* to describing the phonetics of English as such, but only its relevant phonemic features, comparing them with the relevant phonemic features of Czech; in Trnka's textbooks of Danish, Dutch, Swedish and Norwegian for Czechs one usually finds a synchronic description of the phonemics of the target language compared with that of German: this is particularly true of his *Učebnice dánštiny se slovníkem*;[2] finally in Trnka's *The English Visitor in Czechoslovakia, Rapid Languages Courses*[3] we find *a brief outline of the phonemics of Czech*. A very interesting example of the practical application of contrastive analysis is Professor Mathesius' account of English pronunciation and English spelling written as a preface to the textbook *Anglicky sluchem a studiem pro školu a samouky*.[4]

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[a] Jana A. Komenského Veškeré spisy, Tom. VI, Prague 1911.

These examples may have served sufficiently to illustrate the extent to which the theoretical findings of phonemic analysis concerning mainly segmental phonemes have been applied in Czech foreign language textbooks. Of far greater interest may be the practical application of synchronic and functional analysis of the grammatical structure of a foreign language, by means of analytical comparison with the mother tongue. The usefulness of this approach is evident from the numerous papers by Professor Mathesius in which he analyses many grammatical features of Modern Czech, shows their function within the system of the Czech language, often by contrasting them with the different functions of analogous features in a foreign language, particularly English. In applying this method, Mathesius not only illustrated many functions and meanings of Czech grammatical forms, hitherto unknown but also brought light on features of Modern English structure which the monolingual descriptive approach was unable to clarify. This analytical comparative approach also reveals certain analogies and similarities between the two language systems compared which may greatly assist the more efficient selection of materials for use in modern language teaching. The main problem is to ascertain how certain concurrent functional needs are dealt with in each language, i.e. how a given concept is expressed in the target language, how we seek its functional equivalent. The student of a foreign language must be helped to discard the whole complex of the habitual modes of expression and their functions in his mother tongue and must be enabled to master the means of expression and their functions in the foreign language, both as speaker and listener. The system of the mother tongue is the main source of interference because, as speakers, one is apt to develop communication in the foreign language as though the foreign modes of expression functioned in the same way as those of one's native tongue, while as listeners, one is again inclined to decode foreign modes of expression as if they functioned in the same way as those of one's mother tongue. Hence, the problem is not that of contrasting forms and their arrangement and distribution both in the system of the native language and that of the target language, but of contrasting the ways in which these forms actually function in the languages in question. This kind of functional and structural analysis of the grammatical system of a living language, using the comparative analytical method was applied in Vilém Mathesius' posthumous monograph Obsahový rozbor současné angličtiny na základě obecně lingvistickém (A Functional Analysis of Present-Day English on a General Linguistic Basis).[5] The same methodological approach may be found in many monographs and papers by Professor Josef Vachek and by his students written over the past fifteen years. It was equally successfully applied in many papers dealing with aspects of Modern Russian, contrasting Russian with Czech or Slovak, by L. V. Kopeckij, A. V. Isačenko, O. Leška and many others.

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[1] co-author Simeon Potter, first edition Prague 1926.

[2] written in collaboration with M. Lesná, Prague 1937.

[3] written in collaboration with F. P. Marchant, Prague 1937.

[4] By Jan Marhan, 1940. Also published separately under the title *Ukázka, jak lze v učebnici učit výslovnosti a pravopisu na základě fonologickém* *(An example of how to teach spelling and pronunciation on a phonemic basis)*; *Časopis pro moderní filologii* 26, 1940, 441-449, 543-558.

Professor Mathesius, in evolving this type of contrastive linguistic analysis, was fully aware of how profitable the findings of linguistic research of this nature could be for foreign language study. In 1936, he published a booklet Nebojte se angličtiny (Don't be afraid of English),[6] thus initiating the first practical contrastive series for foreign language study many years before the contrastive-comparative method had become fashionable in applied linguistics and language teaching. The popular series was entitled Nová cesta k jazykum, nebo co není v učebnicích (A new guide to languages or what is not to be found in textbooks). It was intended as a manual for advanced foreign language students or for teachers. The first chapters are an outline of English pronunciation and of English spelling, emphasizing the regular features of English graphemics in relation to the phonemic system of the spoken language. Mathesius then proceeds to explain the basic differences between the Czech sentence and the English sentence, particularly with regard to the function of the subject in both languages (the subject in Czech is not always expressed, whereas in English it is always present, the English subject almost always precedes the verb in declarative sentences, the personal subject in English compared with impersonal subjects in Czech, the stylistic tendency in English to preserve the same subject in a longer context, whereas in Czech the subject frequently alternates, etc.). The following chapter deals with connecting words in Czech and English utterances: the form of the Czech word changes according to its relationship to other words in the same utterance, whereas English expresses the same relationship by means of independent function words; the relationship of words in English utterances is further determined by position, both in complete sentences and in phrases, etc. The author's treatment of the tense system of the English verb is very instructive. While Czech has only three verbal tenses and its verbal forms primarily express the quality and quantity of the action, English has two systems of six verbal tenses and no formal signals for the aspectual functions of the verb. In English we may distinguish several zones in the past and in the future. Contrasting the various functions of simple and continuous forms, Mathesius shows similar oscillation among the Czech verbal forms expressing aspect and mode of action. In the chapter entitled "Verbal and nominal expression" the author illustrates Czech preference for purely verbal expressions whereas English makes much more use of analytical nominal groupings. While we have, both in Czech and in English, the infinitive form for a verb and special forms expressing the verbal noun, the scope and functions of these forms in English is much wider. The chapter entitled "The meaning of English words" deals with formal differences clearly distinguishing word-classes in Czech, whereas such formal distinction is lacking in English and thus leads to unmarked duality of function, conversion, especially between verb and noun. The same flexibility exists within the category of verbs in English in respect of transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbs. Contextual determination of the meaning of words is one of the great difficulties with which the Czech student is faced in English. In the final chapter called "English reality and Czech reality", Mathesius shows how much the social and cultural background of language determines the actual meaning of linguistic facts and thus precludes from speaking of a native word--foreign word equivalence of meaning.

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[5] With long English summaries of each chapter; edited by Josef Vachek, Prague 1961, 280 pp.

[6] Prague, 99 pp.

A few years later in 1942, a second booklet was published in this series Poznejte němčinu (Get acquainted with German).[7] Its author, Jaroslav Nosil, was an enthusiastic foreign language teacher. He wrote his booklet under the direct supervision of Professor Mathesius whose firm guiding hand may be detected in many formulations. The first chapters deal with the phonemics and spelling of German. These are followed by a chapter dealing with the system of verbal tenses. In dealing with gender and article, Nosil shows how many functions which are performed in Czech nouns by means of inflectional endings (over forty), to indicate gender, number and case, are expressed in German by an interplay of inflectional endings (only 10), Umlaut and articles. The author then compares the categories of nouns and adjectives in Czech and in German. He maintains that the sensitive inflectional form which determines in Czech to which type of declension a noun belongs is the nominative singular, whereas in German the form of the genitive singular seems to be the marker. Nosil's observations in the following chapter entitled "The Czech sentence and the German sentence" are of considerable interest. The subject is always present in the German sentence, whereas in the Czech sentence it may be lacking or be comprised in the verbal form. The necessity that the verb in the German declarative sentence should always be preceded by a word does not exist in the Czech sentence. The German verb is far less self-contained than the Czech form; it almost always needs to be supplemented by the subject. This leads Nosil to suggest that, in every German utterance (sentence, phrase etc.), there is always much more tension than in Czech utterances. We only grasp the meaning of a German utterance when we have heard its eagerly awaited conclusion, being always aware that the utterance will not be meaningful until it has been fully complete. No less instructive is Nosil's treatment of the German subjunctive forms--a grammatical category unknown in Czech--in the chapter entitled "Form of reality and forms of unreality". By contrasting German contexts in which a subjunctive form appears with their Czech equivalents, he shows how Czech uses special periphrastic constructions to express the functions of the German subjunctive. The last chapter deals with a very typical feature of Modern German structure: the compound words. Both Czech and German make use of this facility in different ways. Nosil's comparative observations are valuable in two directions: they throw new light on some aspects of Modern German structure as well as on those of Modern Czech structure.

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[7] Prague, 1942, 192 pp.

I have purposely devoted attention to presenting a picture of these two booklets in order to suggest the possible practical applications of the systematic functional and structural analysis of grammar of a living language, in which the principle of analytical comparison with the mother tongue was consistently applied. There can be no doubt that Mathesius' attempt to provide a concise outline of English for Czech students was more successful because it was the result of many years of linguistic research in Modern Czech and in Modern English, whereas Nosil had few precursors in the synchronic structural analysis of Modern German. This comparative analysis of the grammatical system was also employed in at least two textbooks compiled by members of the Prague Circle: Ruština pro Čechy (Russian for Czechs) by L. V. Kopeckij[8] and Angličtina svěže a spolehlivě (English lively and reliably) by Josef Vachek.[9]

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[8] Prague, first edition 1935 (with many editions afterwards).

[9] Prague, 1946

As I have already mentioned, the Prague School conceived language as a system of means of expression to meet the need of its user to express himself when addressing his listener (or reader) in a given context situation and for a specific end. The speaker chooses from the repertory of linguistic facts which make up the system of language those elements and their functions which, in the given context of situation, best meet the needs of his act of communication. There will be different patterns of encoding in meeting needs of daily conversation, in writing private letters, in composing an address for a formal gathering etc. The members of the Prague School used, in this connection, the terms functionally differentiated 'dialects', functional languages, functional styles etc. The greatest advance in this attempt at distinguishing various functional layers of language was made in defining the spoken norm and the written norm of a language. In a culturally advanced society, language is both speech and writing, writing is not necessarily recorded speech but a certain pattern of encoding in its own right. Professor Vachek's research in this sphere of language analysis, which began in the years immediately preceding the Second World War, was pioneering work. Its practical implications for foreign language teaching were immediately recognized. The teaching goal in foreign language instruction may be identified with a certain functional style: the aim may be mastery of everyday colloquial speech, i.e. primarily speaking the language and understanding the spoken language, or the aim may be reading of literature, i.e. decoding the written norm of language, or the ability to engage in written communication in the foreign language, i.e. encoding in the written norm, etc. This latter aim in particular was considered to be of great importance in language instruction in commercial schools where the ability to write business contracts and advertisements and to fill in forms in a foreign language was one of the primary skills a graduate of such schools was expected to have. Indeed, it was in this field of foreign language instruction that the principles of functional and structural linguistics of the Prague School have been applied to the fullest extent. A group of professors of languages and language teachers employed at the Commercial College of Prague, headed by the late Professor J. Čada, all of them members of the Circle, have contributed numerous papers and monographs dealing with the linguistic problems of the language of commerce. They considered the language of commerce to be one of those 'functional dialects' and interpreted it as such: a selection from the repertory of linguistic means for specific--technical--ends and not merely a collection of purely technical expressions unrelated to other linguistic elements that are also present in the language of commerce.

History should never be an end in itself. I should never have considered writing this short chapter from the history of the Prague School of Linguistics, had I not been convinced of its topicality and relevance to present-day trends in foreign language teaching methodology. In practically all parts of the globe, better and more efficient methods in language instruction are being called for. The most advanced audio-visual technical aids, recent findings in the psychology of learning and, last but not least, the conclusions of structural linguistics are being employed to this end. It is now commonly accepted--something that members of the Prague School had already proclaimed in the 'thirties'--that the findings of structural linguistics provide the most valuable source of material for foreign language teaching methodology to draw upon. I believe that there are three aspects of Prague structuralism that should be utilized to a greater extent in the evolution of more efficient foreign language teaching methods.

One is the principle of analytical comparison of functional and structural differences and similarities in the grammatical and lexical systems of the learner's mother tongue and of the target language. The usefulness of contrastive linguistics, as this branch of linguistics is now usually called, is now generally acknowledged. But there are great differences in the methods employed in this branch of linguistic research. The methods of analytical comparison of language systems favoured by members of the Prague School and their results rather contradict the somewhat pessimistic statement made by Professor Charles A. Ferguson, Director of the Center of Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association in Washington D.C., in his general introduction to the Contrastive Structure Series: "Although the value of contrastive analysis has been recognized for some time, relatively few substantial studies have been published. In a sense this series represents a pioneering venture in the field of applied linguistics..."[10] On the other hand, Professor Ferguson is right in saying that, in contrasting the sound systems of two languages some claim of completeness may be made, whereas in the comparison of their grammatical systems only selected topics can be treated. Is there, indeed, any need for completeness in the comparison of two systems of grammar for purposes of language teaching? I feel that the degree of completeness depends on the degree of relatedness between the two languages in question. If we compare two languages belonging to quite distinct language families, the contrastive analysis has to be focused on categorical differences between the two languages; in comparing two distantly related languages belonging to the same family, categorical differences will be less prominent, but there will be many differences in aspect modifications within a given category, while functional differences will play a far greater role. Lastly, it is the comparison of two closely related languages. From the very early years of the existence of the Prague linguistic group its members paid particular attention to the teaching of a foreign Slavonic language to students with a Slavonic mother tongue. This is evident from the title of one of the propositions put by the members of the Prague Circle before the First International Congress of Slavists to which I referred at the beginning of this essay. Already then they pointed to the necessity of distinguishing carefully what the two languages have in common and in which points of their systems they differ, and they stressed that the teaching of a Slavonic language to students of a Slavonic mother tongue must be based on differences and not on similarities: "Il y a le danger que dans les débuts de cette étude l'élève ne s'imagine que les points de ressemblance de sa propre langue qu'il apprend sont plus nombreux qu'ils ne le sont en réalité; il arrive que les fonctions des categories de la langue slave étrangère se transportent dans le système de la langue maternelle; de là nait une langue 'panslave' tout à fait particulière, soit tchèque-russe soit serbo-polonaise etc. Il faut avant tout étudier les fonctions des catégories dans leur propre système linguistique" (Section III, 2b, point 5). Many contrastive Czech/Slovak-Russian Studies by Czechoslovak linguists have proved that in this type of comparison of two related languages the differences are chiefly functional, while there is an identity in categories and in their formal expression. I should like to mention in this connection that, in recent years, Czech and Slovak Slavists have greatly contributed to a revival of the analytical comparative method in linguistic research, adopting the principles of the Prague School and refining them in many ways.

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[10] W. G. Moulton, The Sounds of English and German, Chicago Univ. Press, 1962.

The second aspect of the work of the Prague School which should be more widely used for the benefit of foreign language teaching is that concerning functional styles. Research in this field was rarely abandoned in the past fifteen years. In stressing today mastery of the spoken language as the cardinal aim of language learning, i.e. the intercourse of speaker and listener in colloquial speech, we are faced anew by the problem which are the specific linguistic elements that constitute colloquial speech and which functions of these elements are crucial to it. We know by empirical observations that there are great differences between languages in the ways that everyday speech in one language differs from the conventional standard of the literary languages: everyday spoken English of educated people seems to differ more from standard literary speech than, let us say, spoken Russian, which seems closer to the literary norm. A real-to-life dialogue should be the base upon which foreign language conversation should be taught. Which are the specific stylistic and linguistic functions of language elements in everyday colloquial dialogue? Which of these elements must be preserved and included in the school dialogue of foreign language lessons to teach the spoken language and not a recited piece of the written language?[11] Comparative research in these fields is still greatly to be desired and the functional approach of the Prague School should be very fruitful here.

Finally to the third aspect of linguistic research of the Prague School which deserves attention from our present point of view. Several members of the Prague group have devoted considerable attention to problems of mixed languages, to the absorption of foreign elements in an established language system etc. The interference of foreign sound patterns in the phonemic pattern of the receiving language and the partial assimilation of these foreign patterns to the existing system, the problem of phonemic foreignisms, etc.--all these are observations capable of utilization to good purpose in studying the problem of interference of the phonemic structure of the learner's mother tongue with the phonemic system of the target language, in the course of the learning process.

In all present discussions about aims and methods in foreign language teaching, attention seems to concentrate on the purely utilitarian aspects of the study of foreign languages. The formative, educative value in the study of a living foreign tongue is rarely stressed. These formative values were traditionally attributed to the study of Latin and Greek, not only because of the concomitant study of the cultural values of classical literature, but also because of the linguistic discipline involved as such; by studying Latin morphology and syntax, the student is supposed to improve his ability to think logically etc. These educational formative values of language study can be also achieved by newly conceived methods in teaching the mother tongue if they are based on modern linguistic thought. Moreover, if this new line of approach is followed in the teaching of the structures and their functions of the mother tongue, it will serve as an adequate base for a structural and functional approach in the learning of a foreign language. Professor Trnka rightly pointed out that the study of any foreign language has general formative values because, in becoming acquainted with a structural system of language differing from that of the learner's native tongue, the student learns to revalue structural elements in his own language, he learns that ideas may be expressed here synthetically, there analytically etc., each language being logical in its own right. Thus the student's logical faculties are sharpened and his educational horizon is broadened when learning a new language against the background of the structures and their functions of the mother tongue.

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[11] I. Camutaliová, "O stylizaci a typech dialogu v jazykovém vyučování". Metodický sborník II /Lidové kursy ruštiny/, Prague 1961, 78-84/Russian summary/ - Cf. also J. Mukařovský "Dialog-monolog". Kapitoly z české poetiky I, Prague, 1941, 128-153.

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ACTIVITIES AND OBJECTIVES IN THE ANALYSIS OF CLASSES

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Attempts to systematically analyze language classes have proceeded at a fast pace since the early classic monographs of Sweet, Jespersen and Palmer. Studies have long since become more preoccupied with all facets of language and even culture and less with only phonetics and grammar of language or only the reading and writing skills. Recently, Carroll, Anthony, and others have attempted to view a language learning situation as an application of both a consistent philosophy and specific techniques. An excellent example is Edward Anthony's frequently reprinted "Approach, Method, and Technique." In it, he shows how certain viewpoints concerning language and psychology either are or are not compatible with different methods, and how methods and techniques may also be viewed in terms of compatibility. But notice that he focuses on the teacher's beliefs and actions, not on the student's activities. Centering his attention on the teacher is not strange, and the analysis of teacher activities had been and still is tacitly considered by many to be central to the analysis of language classes. In this paper, I want to view language classes from a different angle and specify other dimensions in which classes can be meaningfully evaluated and compared. This paper is based on current trends in general pedagogy, primarily the work of Bloom, Carroll, Popham, Newmark, and Tyler.

On second thought, it really is curious that we have looked for so long at the teacher's behavior in class and not at the students' behavior. After all, it is their behavior, not the teacher's, which we are interested in changing. It is as though we evaluated the success of a company in which we are interested in investing by studying only its management, while basically it is the company's financial balance sheet we should be studying because it alone reflects its real success. Similarly, the balance sheet of a class is the student's mastery of the subject matter, not the philosophy, method, or techniques of the teacher.

What has impaired thinking along these lines? First, the subject matter (goals or objectives) of language classes has not always been clearly stated. It is difficult to evaluate student learning if you don't know in a precise way just what the students are to learn and how they are to show that they have learned it. Second, it is prevalent to view learning, especially language learning, as something the teacher gives and the student takes. It is easier to observe the giving than the taking simply because there is only one giver but so many takers. Third, it is also prevalent to view mastery of a course of study, including language study, as something which only a few students can achieve, and most only achieve the subject matter to the "C" level. Thus, it is felt, students and classes differ in ability. Carroll (1963) and Bloom (1968) have shown that this is falacious thinking, and that for ninty-five percent of our students, successful performance is only a matter of perserverence and priorities, not ability. Finally, there is a notion that it is somehow unfair or undemocratic to make value judgements. Some feel there is some sort of classroom relatively and no activity can be judged from its total context.

Whatever the causes, we have definitely refrained from the notion that classes can be compared and evaluated regardless of their vastly different content and teachers. Obviously, such an undertaking as this--comparing classes--has wide general usefulness.

EASY AND TOUGH

Some class activities and procedures are "easy" on their members whereas other are "tough" - an obvious fact. But here I will describe in detail the dimensions for comparison and thus place the problem of easy and tough classes beyond the realm of impression, sentiment, and argument. I shall proceed to derive the condition requisite for easy and tough classes, demonstrate a continuum by characterizing polar or extreme cases, and finally indicate how one may generally evaluate classes with regard to their easiness or toughness.

This type of analysis also has relevance to subsections of a class, for not all objectives within a class give rise to the same problems. For example, with no more than the impression created by the words easy and tough, the reader will probably entertain the question, "Is it easier to learn in small or large classes?" Or is it easier to learn cursive writing after block printing for, say, an Arab student?[1]

BEHAVIOR

Before proceeding, a few postulates regarding classrooms and behavior must be stated. They are in the nature of axioms which are rather generally accepted though often stated differently. They are unfortunately too frequently ignored in the classroom. They are basic to the analysis here, especially those about tension.

1. In all classes, students are the center of actions or behavior.

2. Actions or behavior is determined both by needs inside (talent, ability, interests, etc.) and by forces outside (goals of the class, culture, teacher, etc.) the student.

3. Whenever a need builds up, tension is induced, and that tension forces action to lessen that tension. Thus actions are initiated by needs and forces.

4. Actions in one way or another are goal-directed toward tension reduction. They are responses for forces within and outside the student. (This tension-reduction theory of behavior is almost a common denominator in motivational theories today.) Goals are the objectives of the language class.

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[1] A word of caution. It will become clear that easy and tough are only relevant to the students' tasks and have nothing whatsoever to do with how difficult the teacher, the supervisor, the school administration, etc., may find their jobs.

5. The culture defines ways for managing these needs, goals, and actions. For example, some cultures stress memorization more than others, some stress learn-by-doing and others learn-by-watching. The physical environment, including the student, also limits and defines the student's responses. For example, there may be no language laboratory or the student may be deaf.

6. Activities are the ways and means for managing needs and are goal-directed and tension-reducing. These activities are very much culturally determined.

The analysis is to proceed by considering some properties of activities, irrespective of goals (objectives), and then goals, irrespective of activities. From an examination of these facets, the concepts of "tough" and "easy" classes will emerge.

ACTIVITIES

One premise is that behavior is directed toward the achievement of a goal or goals (objectives). Students attempt to achieve objectives by means of activities having certain characteristics. In part, classes are tough or easy according to the characteristics of the activities.

1. Appropriateness

Another term for appropriateness is effectiveness. The activity should actually lead the student to the goal; it should, for example, lead one to be able to "use" irregular verbs if the goal is to "use" irregular verbs.

2. Efficiency

Some activities are easier to perform than others. Efficiency refers to the amount of time and/or energy necessary to achieve the goal. If the goal is to "learn" the English irregular verbs, then it is more efficient to group them and have some amount of oral drill, rather than have say, many random fill-in types of exercises.

3. Individualization

Some classes provide a greater number of activities which lead to a specific goal than do others. This leads, of course, to a more complex class. However, the chance for an individual student to find the most efficient activity for himself is greatly increased. Given the goal of some level of reading comprehension, the easier class would provide a wider range (both in difficulty and interest) of subject matter for the students to practice with.

4. Accessibility

How many students can actually engage in the activity? To get a French girl- or boy-friend is one way to learn French, but most American campuses have very few French students in comparison to the number of students wanting to learn French. To achieve a native-like pronunciation, the students must be provided with a native-like model.

5. Clarity

Does the class have goals without indicating by what activities they can be achieved? Is it clear to each student which activities are available to him to go about reading the goal?

6. Approval

Where there exists more than one activity, often one is given more extrinsic rewards than the other. For example, in vocabulary learning, most teachers will praise the student who memorizes roots more than the student who memorizes complete words.

7. Substitutivity

How mutually exclusive are the activities having the same goal? How easy is it to drop one activity, reverse, or substitute another activity? In reading comprehension, for example, can the student chose another book after having read only ten pages of his first book?

8. Congruence

Given a number of activities, to what extent do they go in the same direction or converge upon goals, or to what extent do they oppose each other? Learning to read French may be hindered by trying to learn to speak it at the same time, whereas for Spanish the two activities reinforce each other.

9. Knowledge of Results

Do the students know whether they have correctly engaged in the activity? If so, when do they know?

10. Sequence

Are the students expected to engage in some activity which involves a competence in some other activity which they may not be able to perform? Do activities proceed from simpler to more difficult?

11. Cognizance

This is more than clarity, which involved only one goal. In general, how much do the students know about the system of the class, the activities, their number, effectiveness, etc.? How well do they "perceive the purpose" of the activities? Cognizance involves a sort of an over-all perception of the situation.

DEGREES OF EASINESS AND TOUGHNESS

It is evident that the properties of activities are represented as dimensions (or variables) which of a given class may vary in number, carry more or less approval, have greater or less efficiency, etc.

"Success" in a class depends upon and varies with the attributes of the above eleven activities as a means of achieving success and reducing tension. If a class makes it easy to reduce tension and achieve the goals, then we can call it "easy". Conversely, where the activities make for difficult tension reduction (the achievement of success) the class is "tough". All classes, no matter what their subject matter, method, etc., fall within polar extremes of the eleven activities. But the toughness or easiness of a class cannot be assessed from the properties of any of the activities taken singly; the rating must be multidimensional.

OBJECTIVES (GOALS)

The characteristics of goals are determined by the culture and society, the subject matter, the individual, and the class, as well as by the teacher. Some characteristics of goals follow:

1. Clarity and Behaviorality

Some classes specify goals in great detail and precisely in terms of student behavior, stating just what it is that the student must be able to perform under what circumstances in order to have been said to have achieved the goal.

2. Number

With the same degree of detail in specifying the clarity and behaviorality of goals, some classes list more goals than other classes. For example, some language classes do not include writing as a goal.

3. Approval

Some classes specify the minimal achievement necessary for approval and give greater approval for some goals than for others, for example, speaking in an oral-aural and grammar in traditional class. It is plain that the more approved goals a class specifies, the more chance for success any individual student has; thus it provides for "easiness".

4. Substitutivity

How equivalent are the goals in terms of number and approval? If a particular student cannot achieve a certain goal, can he achieve another goal with equal approval? This is closely related to number and approval.

5. Distribution and Sequence

Are the goals so distributed so that all members of the class find it possible to achieve them? If the goals are universally distributed, then all students can achieve them. Are the goals ordered from simpler to more complex?

6. Congruence

Do goals overlap? Is it possible to achieve more than one goal at the same time or successively or in the same class? For example, is it possible to learn "grammar" in the traditional sense and learn to speak at the same time? Or does one interfere with the other? Must one speak in order to write? Must one be able to comprehend aurally in order to read? There may plainly not be enough time to achieve all the desired goals.

7. Cognizance

This is, in general, the same as "cognizance" of activities. In some classes, more than in others, students are explicitly or implicitly aware of the number, approval, etc. of goals. Students informed about the properties of the goals and their interrelationships have a better chance of achieving success than uninformed students.

It is clear that an "easy" class would have clearly defined goals or a limited number which all members could achieve, etc.

Tough classes, on the other hand, would lack clarity in the specification of goals; there would be a great number of goals; it would be unclear which goals received how much approval, etc.

BEHAVIOR IN TOUGH AND EASY CLASSES

We have looked at the activities and goals of classes and characterized them along the easy-tough dimension. Now let us look at classes and see how the students behave (in the usual sense of the word) under polar extremes of easiness and toughness.

In tough classes, we find students in general behaving badly (whatever that behavior is in terms of the culture, e.g. talking with other students, arguing with the teacher, wasting time, day dreaming). We also find a general malaise and lack of interest, as well as a large number of students skipping class and cheating on exams. Whenever activities and goals do not match up, tension is induced and not reduced. Consequently, students are frustrated, and their behavior reflects it.

In easy classes, we find an absence of the above behavior. We see the students are highly motivated, doing non-mandatory work. There may be some friendly play and laughter, and perhaps a lack of rivalry.

THE ANALYSIS OF CLASSES

In looking at classes, the procedure in general is this: we ask: (1) What does the class want (the specification of goals)? (2) How does the class provide the students with ways to achieve the goals (the specification of activities)? And finally, (3) What problems (behaviors) result from the discrepancies between goals and activities.

Of course, the analysis of a given class employing this activity-goal dimension is neither easy nor entirely objective. The specification of polar, (extreme) examples is helpful, but certainly there are many points in between which need description. Also not all goals and activities should carry the same weight; there seem to be areas of easiness and toughness. For example, in one and the same class, activities may be provided to achieve the goal of "learning to read" and not provided to achieve the also specified goal of "learning to write". Obviously, goals and activities must be weighted as to their priority.

Finally, viewing classes this way is disappointing because all classes (which I have seen) invariably turn out to be tough, some tougher than others, of course. This is not to say that their students do not learn anything, but only to claim that we have a long way to go before theory becomes practice. In fact, advancement will probably be impossible without many technological innovations. The concepts of activity-goal and the resultant easiness-toughness may point the way for these advances.

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A TENTATIVE MEASURE OF THE RELATIVE CONTROL OF ENGLISH AND AMHARIC BY ELEVENTH-GRADE ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS

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The policy of offering an education to students in a language other than their native tongue raises several questions that are not easy to answer. Chief among these is the possible loss of learning efficiency occasioned by the less-than-native control of the language of instruction that most students will have. Indeed the question of finding a common ground between the attempt to raise the students' facility in their language of education and what is felt as the necessity of simplifying the textbooks they use and the lectures they hear has concerned many educators. If language demands are too far beyond language mastery and no attempt is made to bridge the gap, the consequence will undoubtedly be a defectively poor education.

One could argue that education should whenever possible be given in the native language of the students, but there are numerous instances where this is not possible and others where it would seem not to be advisable. When one or more of the following conditions exist, education in a second language may be the preferable--or indeed the only--alternative: 1) an insufficient or nonexistent supply of subject matter text and reference books, 2) the absence of qualified teachers who speak the students' language(s), 3) an inadequately developed vocabulary in the students' language(s), especially in technical concepts, which are so indispensable to modern education, 4) a variety of native languages among the student group, 5) a recognized need to introduce new concepts and ideas at the maximum feasible rate, 6) indecision or lack of agreement on an indigenous language to be utilized as the language of education, 7) a shortage of money or time to develop an extensive program of translation and research.

By these criteria there are very many classrooms in the world--especially in Africa and Asia--that will have to reconcile themselves to using, many into the indefinite future, a second language for educational purposes. The higher one goes in the school system, which implies more technical subject matter, the longer this situation will likely prevail.

Ethiopia is a country where a second language is used extensively in its school system. Until 1964 English was used as the medium of instruction from grade three on. At that point Amharic (itself a second language for approximately 60 to 70 per cent of the population of the Empire) became the language of instruction through all the primary grades, with English (taught as a subject from grade three) used as the medium of instruction from grade seven on. As more trained Ethiopian teachers become available (currently 47.7 per cent of all secondary teachers in the Empire are expatriates and less than 5 per cent are qualified Ethiopians), Amharic will probably be used in some of the higher grades, but a complete Amharicization of the curriculum is not likely for many years. Therefore, the problem of transition to English will continue to be crucial to the success of advanced training in the Empire.

Many teachers using English report difficulties in presenting their subjects, stating that they must use elementary-level English or students simply fail to understand what they say. Recognizing the problem, some teachers recommend intensive training in English; others despair of substantial improvement after as much as ten years' exposure to English-language instruction and use and suggest rewriting the textbooks at the more elementary level of comprehension that the students can understand, accepting the risk of content dilution as the price necessary to prevent a high percentage of student failure and dropout.

The first step in designing a solution to the "language problem," be it more advanced training or less advanced textbooks and lectures, should be a determination of how serious the gap is, an attempt to confirm and quantify to whatever extent this is possible the dimension of the problem, and a specification of the particular deficiencies in comprehension and expression. Several experimental studies are currently in progress, and the one offered in this paper can hope only to add modestly to the specification of some aspects of the problem.

Tests for the present study were prepared to provide two short reading selections of approximately 250 words each. Each of the selections was available in an Amharic version and an English version. The first paragraph of each selection in each version was left intact, to provide an unambiguous context, and the cloze procedure of deleting every fifth word was applied to the second and succeeding paragraphs until twenty-five deletions had been made.[1] The task of the subjects tested was to restore these deletions with the original word, or with another word that was grammatically and semantically compatible to the context.[2]

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[1] The cloze-test technique is not universally recognized as an exclusive (or even fully valid) means of measuring language control (though it may be satisfactory as a predictor of academic promise), and the limited sample to which this test was administered may not be fully representative of the entire country. For further discussion of the use of cloze techniques see Wilson S. Taylor, "Cloze Procedures," *Journalism Quarterly*, Fall 1963, pp. 415-433, and John B. Carroll, Aaron S. Carton, and Claudia P. Wilds, *An Investigation of "Cloze" Items in the Measurement of Achievement in Foreign Languages*, Cambridge, Laboratory for Research in Instruction, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, April 1959, iii, 138 pp. (mimeographed).

Two instruction sheets were prepared, one each in Amharic and English, to teach the subjects how to perform the restorations, illustrating a blank that would be filled by only one word and a blank that could take one of several possible words. An instruction sheet preceded every test (or pair of tests where both were in the same language, e.g., when non-Amharic-speaking students were tested).

Each test packet had as its first page a bilingual student information sheet, with the questions in Amharic in the left-hand column, the same questions in English in the right-hand column, and blanks for answers in the middle column. The form was headed by instructions to complete the form either in Amharic or in English, with the choice of language left to the student. (Most students completed the form in English, and no particular performance results were noted for those who chose Amharic.)

The tests for bilingual administration were assembled in four sequence patterns:

A: English 1 - Amharic 2
B: Amharic 2 - English 1
C: English 2 - Amharic 1
D: Amharic 1 - English 2

The patterns were randomized so that each class that took the test had approximately 25 per cent in each pattern. This randomized whatever advantage there was in doing one language or selection first and helped insure that examinees would do their own work, since neighbor students did not take the same tests. These tests were administered to the eleventh-grade classes of two Addis Ababa private high schools.

A monolingual version of the test consisting of the two English selections was administered to ninety students at three grade levels (7, 9, and 11) at the American Community School in Addis Ababa. The tests were assembled in two sequence patterns:

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[2] I am grateful for the cooperation and assistance of Dr. Hailu Fulass, Assistant Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Assistant Professor in the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature at Haile Sellassie I University, for providing test selections and for helpful consultation during the course of the study. I should also like to express appreciation to Professor Charles Langmuir, Director of the University Testing Center, for professional advice and for his helpful assistance in making arrangements for tests and for suggesting alternative plans when the original design could not be carried out, and to Dr. Johanna and Michael King, also of the University Testing Center, and Dr. Robert L. Cooper of the Language Survey of Ethiopia, for suggestions for handling and interpreting the data collected, and to Dr. Harold S. Madsen of the Faculty of Education, HSIU, for suggestions of interpretation and presentation.

I.	English 1 - English 2	
II.	English 2 - English 1	

It would then be possible to see if the interest of novelty helped students do relatively better on the selection done first or if the advantage of test experience would encourage better scores on the selection done second.

Several kinds of comparisons can be made from the data gathered in this study:

1) The relative performances of native English-speaking American students at three different grade or maturity levels.

2) The relative performances in English of native-speaking American students and second-language Ethiopian students.

3) The relative performances of eleventh-grade American students in English and eleventh-grade Ethiopian students in Amharic.

4) The relative performances of eleventh-grade Ethiopian students in Amharic and English.

To draw useful conclusions from these comparisons, several assumptions must be accepted:

1) The Amharic and English versions of the test selections are of equivalent linguistic difficulty and cultural relevance.

2) The cloze technique provides a reliable testing instrument.

3) Uniform procedures were followed in all administrations of the tests.

4) The tests, both Amharic and English, were scored accurately, consistently, and by the same criteria.

5) The students tested are comparable representatives of the larger student populations in Ethiopian and American schools.

6) The students have had equivalent opportunities to gain skills that the test examines.

It is not possible to claim that all of these conditions have been met, but the problems they pose have been borne in mind and certain precautions have been taken to minimize noncomparable effects. Nevertheless, the conclusions of the study are necessarily tentative and should be cross-checked with other evidence before attempting to make any generalizations.

The equivalence of the complexity of versions of a selection in two languages is virtually impossible to measure. But care was taken to assure as far as possible that the same content was covered in each version, so that the tests cannot be different with respect to the material covered.

Also it was possible to be sure that each selection in both languages appeared in idiomatic language with natural expression. The selections were originally written in Amharic, judged to be of appropriate difficulty for eleventh-grade students in form and content. Two translations into English were prepared by an Ethiopian graduate student, one word-by-word literal and the other contextual. The second was the basis of a reworked version to which the first contributed grammatical insights and guidance for content coverage. The reworked version was criticized by several English speakers for naturalness of expression and cultural validity, refined several times until I was satisfied that the structural influence on the English of the Amharic original was eliminated.

The cloze technique certainly measures more than the linguistic ability of a native speaker, or even linguistic sophistication. It is undoubtedly affected by such abilities as intelligence, creativity, imagination--apparently the same abilities as contribute to academic success in English language classes, since there is a marked correlation between test scores and academic grades in English. But while native-speaker-type control of the language of the test does not assure a high score, a deficiency of that ability certainly affects performance. Even an intelligent student cannot handle content reconstructions in a language he has imperfectly mastered.

An attempt was made to assure as much uniformity as possible in test administration. The same person conducted all sessions (except one, when two groups were tested simultaneously) in accordance with the following procedures:

1. (Explanation)

    a. The purpose of the test you are going to take is to make it possible to compare the English and Amharic of Ethiopian students.

    b. The test is not for your school and will have no effect on grades for your courses. It is sponsored by the University Testing Center for research purposes.

    c. The results will, however, be shown to your teachers if they wish to see them.

    d. The test is an exercise consisting of two selections with some of the words left out. Your task is to guess what they are and write them back in.

    e. You should find it very interesting to see if you can figure out what the words should be.

    f. Before you do the test, an instruction sheet will tell you how to fill in the blanks.

    g. The first page of each booklet of tests is a student information sheet, asking questions about you and your language background.

You will note the blanks for this information are in the center between the questions, in Amharic on the right and English on the left. Read either or both and answer in either language, English or Amharic, as you choose.

2. (Instructions)

   a. There are different tests; everybody is not doing the same one, so don't copy anything from anyone else's paper.

   b. Work steady, but don't rush. You should easily be able to finish the test in the class period.

   c. If you can't fill a blank, go on.

   d. After you finish you may recheck your paper and make changes if you wish.

   e. Write today's date, Gregorian calendar. (Told what it was, date then written on the blackboard).

   f. Give your age as of your last birthday.

   g. When you have finished both selections, raise your hand and I will come and pick up your booklet.

Questions were answered when students wished to query something, the test administrator walking to the student's desk. Students took twenty minutes to an hour on the test, and booklets were picked up in the order offered as students finished. (There was no apparent correlation of test scores with time spent on the test.)

Specifying comparable criteria for scoring in a test where judgment must be exercised in evaluating answers, and then insuring accurate, consistent scoring is no simple matter (in the absence of computer assistance). If a student restores the exact word deleted, the decision is simple, but if he offers another word, the critic must judge its acceptability. The present tests had twenty-five blanks; each was allowed four points, and the following criteria were applied to judge acceptability:

4 points	original word restored or a fully meaningful synonym or replacement
3 points	meaningful replacement, but idiom or grammar slightly strained
2 points	suggestive replacement, but idiom strained or minor grammar error
1 point	understandable but unidiomatic replacement or strained idiom and minor grammar error
0 points	unacceptable answer or no answer given

To encourage consistency of scoring two precautions were taken:

1) two persons scored all the tests, one for each language, with generous consultation between the two, and

2) a tally sheet was kept which recorded all judgments, with past judgments consulted when each blank was scored to make sure precedents were followed.

This had the effect of making decisions rigid, to the extent that second thoughts were difficult to apply (they would require extensive rescoring and recalculations). My impression is that I could have been more generous in some cases in marking the English tests (they were scored first), which would have the effect of raising scores somewhat.

An example of scoring decisions is seen in the following illustration:

In some such way man began to progress and _______ his physical problems.

The following scores were allowed for the second deletion (the blank above):

4 points:	solve (the deleted word), conquer, overcome
3 points:	survive, correct, master
2 points:	improve, change; conquered
1 point :	defeat, fulfill, beat; masters
0 points:	obtain, develop, show, begin; with, of, also

Obvious misspellings were not penalized, e.g., solv for solve.

Probably the only way to insure that sample groups are representative of parent populations is to select samples large enough and varied enough to guarantee statistical validity. It was not possible to do this with the resources and time available for the present study, and the question of comparability of the two samples cannot be answered with complete confidence. It can be pointed out, however, that both the American and Ethiopian students are highly selective samples and therefore not representative or typical of the general age groups they represent: the American students by their presence in a foreign-community school (advantages of travel and experience, family backgrounds that encourage academic pursuits, socio-economic status represented by the parents' selective employability) and the Ethiopian students by the attrition rates in their schools (only one eleventh grader for every thirty students in grade one) and by the fact that the two private schools available for testing, St. Joseph and Nazareth, have better than average students (they rank third and fifth in pass rate for the 1968 Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination, both above 80 per cent, compared to a national pass rate in government schools of approximately 25 per cent). This indication that both schools have a high percentage of superior students is admittedly rough, but it is at least an indication of comparability.

It is very likely that the school experience of Ethiopian and American students is not equivalent, if for no other reason than the fact the Ethiopians have had to do a good part of their studies in a second language. There are probably other differences, of educational aims, curriculum, school equipment and conditions, etc., that would introduce factors of variation into whatever a cloze test measures. These are beyond the control of the study and certainly contribute to the tentative nature of the conclusions shown by the data gathered.

The results of the tests are presented below as sets of comparisons in chart form, with discussion of points of particular interest.

American Community School

Grade	Mean Scores on English Tests							No. of Subjects
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sel 1	Sel 2	First	Last	
11	89.3	90.1	88.4	90.5	88.2	90.1	88.5	13
9	82.4	78.4	87.4	85.4	79.7	83.0	82.1	26
7	76.3	74.5	78.7	77.6	74.9	76.9	75.6	30

These students did both selections in English. It was hoped their scores could be used as bench marks to establish tentative norms for native-speaker performance in English at three grade levels. The mean scores for the two tests, listed under total in the chart, do distribute nicely to show grade/maturity level. Girls outperform boys in the grade 9 and 7 groups, and this is considered normal in measurements of verbal skills. Selection one appears to be slightly easier than selection two, judging by the somewhat higher scores. The order in which the two selections are presented appears to be nonsignificant: these are the closest scores in the test.

The number of students examined in grade 11 is unfortunately low. Other students (mostly Ethiopians, with a sprinkling of other nationalities) were examined at all three grade levels, but their scores were not included, since determining native-speaker competence was an important aim of testing at the American Community School.

The same tests given at St. Joseph and Nazareth Schools (private boys' and girls' schools respectively in Addis Ababa) permit comparisons between Ethiopian and American students. The sprinkling of scores from non-Ethiopian students were excluded, though students whose native language is Amharic (a 90 per cent majority) and students who speak another Ethiopian language (Tigrinya, Gurage, Somali, etc.) are included, and there is no patterned difference in performance which can be attributed to their use of Amharic as a second language.

St. Joseph and Nazareth Schools

Grade	Mean Scores on English Tests							No. of Subjects
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sei 1	Sel 2	First	Last	
St J 11	71.0	71.0		71.2	70.8	73.0	69.0	50
Naz 11	78.0		78.0	79.8	76.6	75.7	80.8	27

The score totals for these students are comparable to the grade 7 scores for the American students, though this is not proof of linguistic or academic equivalence. Again the girls outperform the boys, though this may be partly due to test conditions. The test at Nazareth School was given in a crowded room, and several instances of visual (and even audio) cooperation were noted. It is difficult to overestimate the importance Ethiopian students attach to tests, and opportunities to improve test scores are not lightly passed. Again selection one is slightly easier and the order of presentation is nonsignificant.

In the administrations at St. Joseph and Nazareth each student did one selection in English and one in Amharic. The Amharic results are shown in the following chart:

St. Joseph and Nazareth Schools

Grade	Mean Scores on Amharic Tests							No. of Subjects
	Total	Boys	Girls	Sel 1	Sel 2	First	Last	
St J 11	56.8	56.8		44.2	69.4	55.1	58.4	50
Naz 11	60.4		60.4	44.8	75.1	62.9	58.9	29

The immediately noticeable differences are those between English and Amharic tests, with a 14.2 point spread for the St. Joseph students and a 17.6 for Nazareth. This does not necessarily mean a better performance in English, unless the English and Amharic versions of the tests can be proved equivalent. That equivalence is very unlikely is shown by the variation in scores for the two selections in Amharic. Unlike the English scores for all students, which favor selection one, the selection two Amharic scores are much higher than selection one; 25.2 points for St. Joseph and 30.3 for Nazareth. The difference in difficulty has been noted by all Amharic speakers who have examined the tests, one pointing out that much of the vocabulary required in selection one was uncommon, low-frequency words that would be known only by a fairly well educated person.

Confining observations to selection two, which appears not to be excessively difficult, one could ask why native speakers of Amharic do not do better in Amharic than they do in English on such a test. Several explanations have been offered, some of which are: 1) Amharic is not well taught as a subject; there is relatively little guidance from the Ministry of Education compared to that available to English teachers. 2) There is a serious dearth of textbooks for Amharic, and those available are unattractively presented (poor illustrations, etc.) and are considered by the students to be dull or childish, irrelevant, etc. 3) Amharic is not really considered to be important in many Ethiopian schools; teachers are often poorly trained and inexperienced. And anyway, students "already know" Amharic. 4) Students are not accustomed to fill-the-blank type exercises in Amharic; their "set" toward Amharic has been established by a very different pedagogical tradition, with more emphasis on oral recitation, memorization, and composition.

Whether or not these are valid observations is very difficult to ascertain, though a gap in performance does seem to exist, and as far as the skills represented by the present cloze tests are concerned, not in favor of Amharic. It has been suggested that Amharic may not lend itself to a restoration-type test, though an assumption of redundancy in language is felt by many linguists to be one of the universals of human communication, and it is certainly redundancy that makes possible the reconstruction of an imperfect text. The question raised by the test scores cannot be answered satisfacotrily with presently available evidence.

Another display of the data presented above shows a breakdown which correlates test performance with the most recent term grade students have earned in their language classes. English course grades are compared to English scores on the cloze test, and Amharic grades to Amharic scores. The American Community School data are as follows:

American Community School

Course Grade	Grade 11				Grade 9				Grade 7			
	M	R	N	SD	M	R	N	SD	M	R	N	SD
A	92.3	91.5-93	2	--	91.3	89-94.5	7	2.2	84.4	70-96	9	10.1
B	91.1	86.5-96	4	3.6	86.8	66-95.5	8	9.8	78.4	61.5-86.5	8	7.9
C	89.9	84.5-93.5	4	3.9	74.9	56.5-91	7	13.6	70.4	53.5-83	9	11.5
D	84.2	83-86	3	1.9	72.1	58.5-81	4	9.7	57.8	37-78.5	2	--
F												

M = Mean R = Range N = Number SD = Standard Deviation

These data pattern very appropriately and show that the skills which the tests measure are closely comparable to those which determine students' course grades. A variation, often a small one, is maintained between levels of performance within each year tested and between years.

Comparable date for St. Joseph and Nazareth Schools, comparing English and Amharic course grades with performance on the cloze test, are:

St. Joseph and Nazareth Schools

English

Course Grade	St J 11				Naz 11			
	M	R	N	SD	M	R	N	SD
A	84.6	67-99	14	8.5	85.5	74-94	8	7.7
B	78.0	67-89	11	6.9	79.4	67-89	10	6.9
C	67.9	61-91	12	9.2	69.1	46-88	8	12.1
D	58.0	35-83	10	16.1	74.0	74	1	--
F	37.3	18-54	3	18.1				

Amharic

Course Grade	St J 11				Naz 11			
	M	R	N	SD	M	R	N	SD
A	56.2	19-81	9	18.1	66.3	32-87	7	20.6
B	58.5	25-83	14	17.9	56.2	29-79	13	15.7
C	58.0	31-87	19	17.9	64.1	35-87	8	17.7
D	51.3	10-77	8	23.3				
F								

The figures for English maintain an orderly correlation for scores and course grades, and the two schools are roughly comparable. The standard deviations show a dispersion of scores at each course-grade level that is not too different from the American Community School pattern, especially with grade 7, which is very similar in other respects.[3]

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[3] This four year time lag is corroborated by other research, e.g., James H. Lee and John Bowers. "Reading Comprehension and Textbook Readability," a preliminary report in mimeographed form, Haile Sellassie I University, 1968. They cite data revealing a reading comprehension and vocabulary level at the fifth grade for a sample of 500 Ethiopian ninth graders.

The figures for Amharic tests and classes pattern quite differently. The correlations are spotty and are further weakened by wide ranges and high standard deviations. At St. Joseph both the B and C students have higher mean scores than the A students, and at Nazareth the C students outperform the B students. Also the range of mean scores from A to D students is rather limited, to about seven points for St. Joseph and ten for Nazareth. Apparently skill at doing the cloze tests does not correlate well with the criteria by which course grades are assigned.

The product-moment correlations at the two schools are shown in the following chart:

Course Grades and Test Scores

Course	School	r coefficient	Significance
Eng	St J	.76	clearly significant (.001 level)
	Naz	.56	clearly significant (.01 level)
Amh	St J	.07	nonsignificant
	Naz	.03	nonsignificant

It is interesting, though difficult, to speculate on the lack of correlation between Amharic course grades and test scores. Perhaps the grades are assigned by a less experienced teacher and the grading pattern is less stable than is the case for English. (The Amharic teacher at Nazareth is a university student.) Perhaps school tests and instructional goals do not reflect language proficiency. Perhaps the Amharic tradition is just different from the Western education tradition--the skills, activities, and competences are not the same. The implication would be that the cloze tests represent the Western tradition and the Amharic course grades a local tradition. If this should be true, it would be interesting to subject to experimental study the presentation of Western education in Amharic, to see to what extent there is an effect in the medium of instruction. Data from this test are corroborated by the observation that there is virtually no correlation between scores on the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination Amharic test and course grades in Amharic or the general grade-point average in the freshman year at Haile Sellassie I University.[4]

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[4] Lane Tracy in "A Statistical Analysis of the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examinations as Predictors of Academic Success at Haile Sellassie I University" (mimeographed, 1965) points to the very low correlation (.11 to .16) of Amharic test scores to Amharic grades subsequently earned as University students, compared to .21 to .46 for English, most of which are significant (.33 and .38 at .01, .46 at .001) though not impressive. A correlation of at least .50 would be an adequate indication of a good examination.

In addition to teacher grades, the students who took the bilingual examination were asked to rate their reading ability in English and Amharic on a four-point scale. These self-appraisals are shown in the following charts:

St. Joseph and Nazareth Schools

English

Self-Appraisal	St J 11				Naz 11			
	M	R	N	SD	M	R	N	SD
Exc	72.2	18-99	8	26.9	88.0	79-92	5	5.2
Good	71.8	35-93	35	15.0	75.8	46-94	21	10.8
Fair	66.5	49-79	6	12.7	74.0	74	1	--
Poor								

Amharic

Self-Appraisal	St J 11				Naz 11			
	M	R	N	SD	M	R	N	SD
Exc	54.1	19-79	16	15.5	56.2	29-87	6	22.9
Good	58.5	25-87	22	18.9	65.6	43-87	12	15.6
Fair	56.6	10-82	10	23.0	59.2	32-79	10	15.5
Poor					37.0	37	1	--

Students at St. Joseph who rate themselves good and fair in Amharic outperform those who rate themselves excellent, and those at Nazareth who rate themselves good outperform those who rate themselves excellent. However, the ranges of means are relatively low and the standard deviations are high.

The product-moment correlations for the two schools are shown in the following chart:

Self-Appraisal and Test Scores

Course	School	r coefficient	significance
Eng	St J	.09	nonsignificant
	Naz	.42	significant (.05 level)
Amh	St J	-.06	nonsignificant
	Naz	.08	nonsignificant

These figures show that the girls at Nazareth rate themselves with reasonable accuracy in English, but the boys at St. Joseph do not. Neither boys nor girls have any success in rating themselves in Amharic.

If neither teacher ratings nor self-appraisals correlate well with Amharic test scores, it may be of some interest to ask how teacher and student judgments correlate with each other. The answer is: not very good, but somewhat better for English than for Amharic, as the charts below show:

St. Joseph and Nazareth Schools

	English								Amharic							
	St J 11				Naz 11				St J 11				Naz 11			
	P	F	G	E	P	F	G	E	P	F	G	E	P	F	G	E
A			7	6			4	3			3	5		3	4	
B		3	8			1	9	1		1	9	4	1	3	7	2
C		1	11				8	1		4	9	5		3	1	4
D		1	8	1		1	1			5	1	2				
F		1	1	1												

Several observations can be made for these correlations. One is the rare use of the poor and F categories. The judgments concur more often for English than for Amharic. The students tend to favor "middle ground" judgments, but those who select the off-center categories in Amharic ratings frequently agree neither with their teachers nor with test scores.

A product-moment correlation analysis of the teacher and student evaluations shows the following results:

Course Grades and Self-Appraisal

Course	School	r coefficient	Significance
Eng	St J	.25	marginally significant (ca .07 level)
	Naz	.37	significant (.05 level)
Amh	St J	.40	significant (.05 level)
	Naz	-.25	nonsignificant

There is some correlation between teacher and student evaluations in the English classes of both schools, though not impressively strong. In the St. Joseph Amharic course the boys' self-appraisal agrees with the teacher's course grades to disagree with the test scores. In the Nazareth Amharic course the girls disagree with the teacher's ratings, and both disagree with the test scores.

In summary, the cloze tests administered in this experiment study show the ranges and levels of performance that might be expected of native English-speaking students. Ethiopian students fall behind their American counterparts in English. Somewhat surprisingly, the Ethiopians seem not to do well in Amharic, the native language of most of the Ethiopian subjects (though the evidence for this rests on unproved assumptions), and their Amharic results do not correlate well with teacher or student appraisals of performance. Nor do teacher and student evaluations always correlate well between each other. The questions raised by lower performance levels and apparent inconsistencies in evaluation suggest more research should be devoted to defining problems of Amharic instruction. Studies designed to identify and correlate instructional goals and evaluation procedures would possibly contribute substantially to more effective Amharic classes.

The results of tests given in this study do confirm a gap between the performance in English between the American and Ethiopian students tested. This suggests that there should be some effort to upgrade the Ethiopian students' mastery of English or that texts should be written to their level of competence. The answer to which solution is probably "some of both." Textbooks beyond the reach of the students not only result in below-standard academic performance, but lead to the undesirable habit of memorizing what are superficially thought to be the important elements of the text: paragraph headings and topic sentences,[5] which are produced on examinations regardless of the questions asked. Also the student suffers emotional reactions born of anxiety and feelings of frustration which further impair his ability to learn.

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[5] Lee and Bowers, *op. cit.*

But simplification of texts is not always possible. Sometimes appropriately simple texts are unavailable, and special texts cannot be produced on demand. Also, simplification has its own limits. Complex subjects are not always easy to write about in simple style, and the simplifier must not descend to primer style, which risks insulting and antagonizing mature students.

An effort to close the gap should come from both directions. In the present cloze tests if one looks not just at student mean scores, but also looks at ranges of scores, it is quite obvious that simplifying the texts is not by itself the only desirable solution to the problem. The larger ranges of scores and higher standard deviations show a wide range of ability (and presumably language proficiency) among Ethiopian students. The following sample data suggest that the best Ethiopian students do as well as the best American students:

Sample Ranges and Standard Deviations

School	Course Grades							
	A		B		C		D	
	R	SD	R	SD	R	SD	R	SD
ACS 11	91.5-93	--	86.5-96	3.5	84.5-93.5	3.9	83-86	1.9
St J 11	67-99	8.5	67-89	6.9	61-91	9.3	35-83	16.1
Naz 11	74-94	7.7	67-89	6.9	46-88	12.1	(74)	--
Differences	-21 +3.5		-20.5 -7		-31 -4		-48 -3	

The last line on the chart shows the difference between the average of the test scores for the two Ethiopian eleventh grades and the score for the American Community School eleventh grade. The top of the ranges are very close (actually an Ethiopian student got the highest grade earned on the English tests). The gap between the bottoms of the ranges are very wide, and higher standard deviations for the Ethiopian schools indicates a wider dispersion of scores. This seems to indicate that the best students in all three schools are capable of superior work, but that the weak students in the Ethiopian schools are far behind the weakest American students in whatever skills the test measures.

To attempt to solve the problem of educating Ethiopian students in a second language, taking into account and attempting to reduce the gap in performance shown by the mean scores in this study, by the expedient of selecting texts written in a simpler style, where these are available, may be a partial solution. But students cannot be forever spoonfed with simplified prose, especially since they will eventually leave the secondary school or university to "continue their education" on their own resources. Furthermore not all students need simplified prose.

Another very important solution is specific remedial pedagogy to improve student performance levels. Since only part of the students need help, remedial attention should not be given in regular classes, for example in English classes. Besides preempting time needed for coverage of the regular curriculum requirements in English, such an approach fails to identify those who need special help and unjustly penalizes the better students by restricting their range of reading when they need the best education they can get for effective participation in a highly competitive world. The superior students have much promise of career achievement, and they should not be held back by a "convoy system" that makes every ship travel at the speed of the slowest. Furthermore, the presence of superior students in a remedial class which they do not need tends to discourage the students for whom the class is designed, since comparisons between them and the students without special problems are unfavorable.

Well-designed remedial language classes, perhaps noncredit or extracurricular instruction, offering extensive graded reading experience, would constitute an effort to correct the specific problems of underachievement attributable to a deficiency in the language of instruction, without exacting an unnecessary penalty on those who are presently capable of effective academic performance, who have adequately mastered the linguistic tools of education.

የተማሪው አገላለጽ		STUDENT INFORMATION
ስም	______	Name
ት/ቤት	______	School
ቀን	______	Date
ይህን ፍርም በአማርኛ ወይም በእንግሊዝኛ ሙላ		Fill out this form in either English or Amharic
1. ዕድሜ	______	1. **Age**
2. ፆታ	______	2. Sex
3. የተወለድክበት ቦታ		3. Place of birth:
የመንደሩ ወይም የከተማው ስም	______	Town or city
ጠቅላይ ግዛት	______	Province
4. የተወለድከው ሌላ ቦታ ከሆነ አሁን ወደምትኖርበት ቦታ ስትመጣ ስንት ዓመትህ ነበር::	______	4. If born in another place how old were you when you moved to your present home?
5. ሕፃን በነበርክበት ወቅት ትናገር የነበረው የመጀመሪያ ቋንቋ	______	5. Native language - language you first spoke as a child
6. እንግሊዝኛ መናገር የጀመርህ በስንት ዓመትህ ነው	______	6. At what age did you start to learn English?
7. አማርኛ በእንዴት ያለ አኳኋን ታነባለህ		7. How well do you read Amharic?
እጅግ በጣም ጥሩ	☐	Excellent
ጥሩ	☐	Good
መልካም	☐	Fair
መጥፎ	☐	Poor
8. እንግሊዝኛስ እንዴት ታነባለህ		8. How well do you read English?
እጅግ በጣም ጥሩ	☐	Excellent
ጥሩ	☐	Good
መልካም	☐	Fair
መጥፎ	☐	Poor
9. ሌላ ምን ቋንቋዎችን ትችላለህ	______	9. Name other languages you speak.
10. ከአባትህ ጋር የምትነጋገርበት ቋንቋ	______	10. Language in which your father speaks to you
11. ከእናትህ ጋር የምትነጋገርበት ቋንቋ	______	11. Language in which your mother speaks to you
12. የአንደኛ ደረጃ ትምህርት ቤትህ		12. Primary school you attended
ስም	______	Name
ያለበት ቦታ	______	Location
13. መለስተኛ 2ኛ ደረጃ ትምህርት ቤትህ		13. Junior secondary
ስም	______	Name
ያለበት ቦታ	______	Location

A___

E___

FILL THE BLANKS

In the sentences of this exercise every fifth word has been left out. Write in the word that fits best. Sometimes only one word will will fit, as in:

A week has seven ______.

The only word that will fit in this blank is days. But sometimes you can choose between two or more words, as in:

We write with a ______.

In this blank you can write pen or pencil or even typewriter or crayon.

Write only one word in each blank. Your answers should look like this:

A week has seven days.
We write with a pen.

The first paragraph on the next page has no words left out. Complete the sentences in the second and following paragraphs by filling in the blanks as shown above.

Selection 1 - English

Since man first appeared on earth he has had to solve certain problems of survival, such as hunger, thirst, and cold. He therefore had to find ways to satisfy his appetite and to clothe himself for protection against the cold. It is belived that fruit and leaves from trees were his first food and that his first clothes were made from large leaves and animal skins. When he found that meat was good to eat, he began to hunt wild animals and to trap fish. These new occupations led him to design special instruments for hunting and fishing. Later he learned how to cultivate the land to grow crops for food and eventually to grow special plants, like cotton, from which clothing can be made. It took many years of struggle to reach this stage of civilization.

In some such way ______ began to progress and ______ his physical problems. But ______ had other, more spiritual _____ - for happiness, love, security, ______ divine protection. His feelings ______ to be expressed, so ______ learned to use language ______ artistic purposes.

When man ______ eaten and drunk to ______ satisfaction, he wanted to ______ himself in song, so ______ learned to sing. He ______ songs of sadness, love, ______, joy, and he invented ______ instruments to play while ______ sang.

Man's first need ______ food. But he must ______ express his sorrow at _____ death of a relative _____ close friend, shout words ______ encouragement when an enemy ______ expected, praise God when ______ is happy, perhaps in _____ poem or a song. ______ the level of civilization improved, man began to consider his own mind and thinking, and philosophy was born.

Selection 2 - English

Why is it that black children are born of African parents, red children are born of American Indian parents, and white children of European parents? But if one parent is African and the other is American Indian, most of the time the children will be brown. If two short people marry, their children will usually be short, and if two tall people marry, their children will usually be tall. But sometimes a short person marries a tall person. Some of their children will be short and some tall, but about half of them will be middle-sized.

Sometimes children inherit characteristics ______ only from their parents, ______ also from their grandparents ______ great grandparents. How can ______ be explained? How are ______ passed from parents to ______?

Everyone knows that physical ______ are passed from parents ______ children, and many people ______ wondered how it happens. ______ few people have tried ______ answer this question, and ______ very few have answered ______ correctly.

If the physical ______ of parents are passed ______ to children, we can ______ when this happens. The ______ has to be when ______ child is first conceived. ______ seed from the father ______ with the egg from ______ mother. This small seed ______ small egg carry information ______ will determine the characteristics ______ the child, that will ______ what the child will look like after he is born.

Abstracts of MA Theses

A Cultural Analysis of William Golding's Lord of the Flies

Patrick Roger Hargreaves (Lancashire, England)

This study investigates "cultural difficulty" in the study of English literature by foreign students. A well-known British novel widely used abroad is analysed to reveal precisely what cultural complexity it contains, and to test the general a priori assumption that British cultural patterns will inevitably pervade a British work however universal its theme. The methodology suggested is new.

A preliminary section discusses the purposes of literary study, which cultural difficulty might obstruct. Linguistic, cultural and "sociolinguistic" difficulty are distinguished and preliminarily defined. The concepts of "culture" and "cultural interference" are discussed, and a survey of previous work reveals that no satisfactorily comprehensive scheme for either is available for a literature teacher to use. Cultural difficulty is found to be a complex phenomenon, relating to:

1) The level of appreciation required.
2) The cruciality of the item for understanding the book's import.
3) Its universality or parochiality.
4) How "contextually interpretable" it is.
5) Whether it is referential or metaphorical.
6) Whether it is a matter of fact or of value.

The text is then scrutinised in detail. All cultural elements distinguished are referred to subdivisions of the following comprehensive categories:

1) Physical, Natural.
2) Physical, Man-made.
3) Institutions.
4) Social mores.
5) Social manners.
6) History and tradition.
7) Intellectual matters.

and are discussed as to their nature, their importance in the story, and their "cultural difficulty" as defined. In conclusion an attempt is made to assess the "Britishness" of the work and it is argued that while most of its ideas and characters are archetypal, the central character cannot be divorced from his British background and that a knowledge of certain exclusively British phenomena is necessary for an understanding of the book at any but the most simplistic level. A summary of "cultural difficulty" seeks to distil the survey's mass of detail. Finally the book's cultural profile is related to the general purposes of literary study.

The Effect of Increasing Syntactic Complexity on Reading Comprehension

Frank Xavier Estrada (Gallup, New Mexico)

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effect of increasing the complexity of the patterns of syntactic structures on reading comprehension. Seventy-five fourth grade elementary school children in the Gallup-McKinley County School System, Gallup, New Mexico, were selected as subjects for the study. Two groups consisted of Navajo-speaking children from the Navajo Reservation and one group consisted of native English-speaking children from the Gallup area.

Six reading passages were designed to test the research hypothesis. Varying patterns of syntactic structure were the only variable in the reading passages. The reading passages were paired into three levels of syntactic complexity. Level I encompassed simple patterns of syntactic structure (main clauses only), Level II was made more complex with the addition of dependent clauses, and Level III, in addition to main and dependent clauses, utilized reduced clauses of the adjective and/or prepositional type.

Cloze comprehension tests were used as the measure of comprehension. The study revealed that Indian students, as well as non-Indian (to a lesser degree), encountered increasing comprehension difficulties with an increase in the syntactic complexity of the sentences of the reading passages. With one group of stories (A) significant differences were found in moving from Level I to Level II and from Level II to Level III. In the second group of stories (B) significant differences were found only between Levels I and Level II. The presence of dependent clauses proved to be the greatest reading comprehension obstacle. The presence of reduced clauses also caused a change in the performance of subjects.

It was concluded that English as a second language learners will encounter comprehension problems when they are expected to read written materials incorporating sentences with dependent clauses.

Implications of the study and recommendations for further research were also made.

Teaching Bidialectism in a Second Language: A Strategy for Developing Native English Proficiency in Navajo Students

Nancy Knox Fawcett (Long Beach, California)

As a strategy for attaining a goal of coordinate bilingualism, it has been proposed that students living in a bilingual community be taught that ultimately they will be bidialectal in their second language: they will speak the dialect of their community as well as a standard one.

The thesis is a preliminary study of one attempt to deal with this problem in the context of a curriculum being developed for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Theoretical justification for and pedagogical implications of bidialectal instruction for Navajo Beginners are explored. The hypothesis is that bidialectal instruction will result in better pronunciation.

The study describes two groups involved in a non-equivalent control group design over a twelve-week period. One class received bidialectal instruction; the other did not. In the pretest and posttest the students retold a story, then mimicked each sentence in the story as it was modeled by the investigator. A sample of the recorded data was presented in random order to six native speakers of English, who scored a pronunciation point in each utterance on a three-point scale of native English equivalence. Interjudge reliability was .86. The statistical results fail to support the hypothesis. Measures of the interrelationships among several variables of student performance and language difficulty are analyzed with varying results. It is recommended that the instruction be modified slightly, and that a more intensive study be carried out over a longer period of time.

Lexical Analysis and Comparison: English and Persian; An Exploratory Study for English as a Second Language Purposes

Willem Cornelis VanderWerf (Santa Monica, California)

This lexical contrastive analysis of English and Persian is based on lexical errors made by Iranian students. The errors found involve incorrect lexical substitution and incorrect semantic or syntactic collocations. The errors are caused by different kinds of lexical splits. In a lexical split one lexical item in Persian corresponds to two or more items in English. Most splits are caused by conceptual differences.

The analysis was not limited to the immediate members of the simple or multiple splits but extended to the "synonyms" and near synonyms of the words involved and the distribution of the features over the ranges of synonyms in the two languages. A contrastive analysis was made of ten sets of nouns and ten sets of verbs all involving splits of some kind, and of one larger group of semantically related verbs. Lexical splits were found to cross the boundaries between syntactic word classes, the boundaries between semantics and syntax and the boundaries between different levels of usage: colloquial, formal and literary. It was also found that a knowledge of the two cultures involved is a prerequisite for satisfactory lexical contrastive analysis. Finally it was found that a knowledge of Persian and/or a knowledge of lexical contrastive analysis helped in reconstructing the intended meaning of some errors giving a teacher an insight into how errors are made and what remedies to use. Otherwise these errors would be totally incomprehensible.

Language Policy as Related to the Teaching of English as a Second Language in Ghana

F. F. K. Gbedemah (Accra, Ghana)

The main focus of this exercise is to investigate national language problems as related to the teaching of English as a second language in Ghana. By means of a carefully prepared questionnaire, workers and a few students have been interviewed in three main suburbs of Accra, namely Kaneshie, Asylum Down, and Accra Central--government ministerial offices. The fifty samples that have been received show interesting characteristics in the range of occupations represented, age, tribe, sex, and the variety of languages known by each individual--the range is from a minimum of two to a maximum of six. English and Akan, however, seem to be favourites for national language status. The main facts of this and the implications of the whole study are examined as follows:

Chapter I looks at the linguistic geography of Ghana. There are two main groups of languages in Ghana--the Kwa (Akan, Fante, Twi, and its associated dialects), Ewe, Ga, and the Gur languages--Dagbon, Mampruli, Kusal, etc. Buem, Nkonya, Bowiri, etc. are a miscellaneous group that cannot be classified under any of the two major groups. The special status of English, and the current concern for French is also examined.

Chapter II: This is a survey of the history and current status of language policy in Ghana. English is looked at closely in relation to the local languages--Akan, Ga, Ewe, etc. since the 19th century. The attitudes of the early German and other missionaries, the colonial, and post-independence governments of Ghana have been evaluated.

Chapter III: In this chapter the "national language question" has been reviewed in the light of the public debate sparked off by Dr. E. Amu, and Professor Jones-Quartey--both of the University of Ghana, Legon. They suggested that Akan should be learned by every Ghanaian alongside English for the establishment of social rapport. Professor Jones-Quartey feels every bit unhappy in African as well as European company when the language of conversation is unfamiliar. This started a press debate to which both linguists and non-linguists contributed. This is revealing for the light thrown on the individual Ghanaian's feelings about his mother tongue.

Chapter IV is an analysis of attitudes to language as revealed by the questionnaire. Besides, it throws light on the respective roles of Ghana languages. The respondents expressed varied opinions, some of which is worth the attention of both the psychologist and the linguistician. One respondent rejects Akan as official language "because I don't speak it." Another disqualifies Ewe because "it is too difficult to learn." A third one says English should be the only official language because "none of the Ghanaian languages can be."

Chapter V: The multi-lingual trend revealed by the questionnaire raises for the educator problems of not only methodology but budgeting for language teaching. This chapter looks at the resources for language teaching in Ghana. The need for cooperation with the resource countries as well as inter-regional cooperation among English-speaking African countries cannot be over-stressed, because it is less expensive than paying heavily for experts who are scarce in their home countries.

Chapter VI: This is the concluding chapter. There is sufficient evidence from the questionnaire that for a long time to come the English language will remain the major factor in education, business, administration, and intra- and international communication for Ghana for a long time to come. The need for qualified language teachers is therefore greater than ever, while the need for a Ghanaian national language is not yet pressing.

Grammatical Analysis and Grammar Drill: An Investigation Into Their Most Effective Chronological Order

Carolyn Mary Berkenkamp (Huntington, New York)

An experiment conducted at the UCLA campus during the winter quarter of 1969 attempted to investigate the importance of the position of the grammar explanation relative to class practice in a foreign language lesson. Do students learn more effectively if the structural explanation is presented to them before intensive class drill or at the end of classroom practice?

Twenty-four American students were hired to act as subjects for this study. Based on their MLAT scores, they were divided into two groups of subjects matched for general language ability. Each group separately was taught five grammatical patterns of Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia. For each lesson, the Experimental Group received a written explanation of the pattern under study after initial presentation of the new material and before class practice. The Control Group received the explanation only at the end of practice. Two achievement tests followed the instruction phase. The first one was given the day after the last instruction period; the second one, eight days later.

All test results, reflecting both inter-group differences and retention span, favored the Experimental Group. Statistically significant results were found in both sets of scores regarding Experimental and Control Group retention span. However, the Experimental Group's scores showed greater significance than did the Control Groups. Although these are the only statistically significant scores that result from this study, the consistent trend in favor of the Experimental Group indicates that presenting the grammar explanation before classroom practice seems to be of greater help to the student in acquiring the patterns and manipulating them orally, than does delaying the analysis.

The Role of Explanation in the Teaching of the Grammar of a Foreign Language; an Experimental Study of Two Techniques

Nguyen Van Xiem (Saigon, Vietnam)

In an attempt to determine the relative effectiveness of two techniques of teaching syntactic patterns of a foreign language to college students, a study was conducted at UCLA during the fall quarter, 1968. Subjects selected for this study were American undergraduate students with no prior training in Vietnamese. Ten matched pairs of students equated on the basis of their MLAT scores formed two groups that received instruction on a number of Vietnamese syntactic patterns.

This study was initiated in response to some current reflections on the role of grammatical explanations or structural rules in teaching the grammar of a foreign language at the adult level. The experiment involved four hours of training and two hours of testing. The subjects were taught eight thirty minute lessons on eight grammatical patterns. For each pattern, after the presentation of introductory sentences containing the syntactic point to be taught and before the practice phase, the experimental group received a concise written explanation to study for five minutes while the control group had no explanation but were given the same amount of time in additional practice. A set of achievement tests were administered to the two groups immediately after training and again after an interval of twelve days. Results of the analysis of the test scores showed differences in performance and retention between the two groups. All differences were in favor of the experimental group. However, the only statistically significant difference was the retentive ability of the experimental group in recognizing Vietnamese grammatical sentences. The remaining differences did not reach significance but their direction showed a consistent trend in favor of the hypothesis.

The tendency for the experimental subjects to achieve greater gains justifies further study of the basic question posed in this study under other experimental conditions.

The Relative Difficulty of Learning to Pronounce Cognate and Non-Cognate Words in a Second Language

Laurel West Kessler (San Francisco, California)

This is a pilot study investigating the hypothesis, in second-language learning, cognates are no more difficult to pronounce than non-cognates, and of a way of testing the hypothesis. Fifty-one native speakers of Mexican Spanish were tested on tests of Spanish and English pronunciation and on the difference in their pronunciation between non-cognates and cognates in English.

The Spanish test was judged by a native speaker of Mexican Spanish and served to identify the dialects spoken by the subjects. The English test was judged by sophisticated native speakers of American English and served to rank the subjects according to their English pronunciation ability. The cognates test was judged by unsophisticated native speakers of American English and served to determine if there was a difference in difficulty between cognates and non-cognates.

The English and cognates tests were found to validate each other and therefore were reliable measurements of the subjects' English pronunciation ability. The unsophisticated judges of the cognates test were found to be reliable.

An hypothesis was posited regarding the relative difficulty of cognate words: students with moderate to good ability in English pronunciation have no greater difficulty in pronouncing cognate words than non-cognates; for poor speakers, however, the less their overall ability, the greater will be their difficulty with cognate words.